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**December 21, 2002** 

SECTION: LOBBYING; Vol. 34, No. 51

LENGTH: 2695 words

**HEADLINE:** Hard Questions About Soft-Money Groups

BYLINE: Peter H. Stone

#### **BODY:**

Sometime early next year, a new Republican fundraising group called the Leadership Forum is expected to throw a soft-money bash, inviting House GOP leaders and other Republican heavyweights to be its featured guests.

But this event will be different in key ways from fundraising galas of the past: Under the campaign reform law that took effect on November 6, neither members of Congress nor the national party committees-such as the National Republican Congressional Committee-may raise or spend unregulated soft dollars. So, the heavy lifting of raising soft money now falls, in part, to newly created groups such as the Leadership Forum.

But what's interesting about the Leadership Forum is that it was created right before the recent election with the blessing of the NRCC-and with the transfer of \$1 million from NRCC's softmoney accounts to the forum's coffers.

The forum's officers include top GOP lobbyists with strong ties to senior Republicans on Capitol Hill. Its president, Susan Hirschmann, just stepped down this fall as chief of staff to incoming House Majority Leader Tom DeLay, R-Texas. Hirschmann, who is now at the K Street law and lobbying firm of Williams & Jensen, worked for DeLay when he was majority whip. The forum's No. 2 is former Rep. Bill Paxon, R-N.Y., a senior adviser at the law and lobbying powerhouse Akin, Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld, a prodigious fundraiser for the GOP, and a former chair of the NRCC.

While the new law forbids members of Congress from soliciting soft money, it does allow them to attend and speak at fundraisers for the forum and the other such campaign financing entities that have been set up by Republicans and Democrats. Under the law, these new money-harvesting groups can spend their soft dollars only to help nonfederal candidates and to pay for issue advertising and get-out-the-vote activities; they must operate independently of the national party committees.

The idea of holding a glitzy coming-out event for the



forum has been kicked around since its inception. "We were thinking about ways to debut with Republican leaders and other movers and shakers in Washington," said a source involved in the group's formation.

Prominent Democratic and Republican veterans, fundraisers, and lobbyists, are heading up similar new groups-and some that are not so new-in the hope of keeping the soft money flowing from corporations, associations, unions, and individuals to help boost their party's fortunes in the next election and beyond.

Another early entrant is the Democratic State Party
Organization, which got off to a fast start before Election Day
when Terry McAuliffe, the chairman of the Democratic National
Committee, touted the group in a meeting at the Renaissance
Mayflower Hotel that was attended by some two dozen prominent
party donors. McAuliffe introduced the contributors to Joe
Carmichael, the president of the new organization and also cochair of Missouri's Democratic Party. Carmichael, in turn,
pitched the donors about writing soft-money checks to aid his
group's core mission: financing get-out-the-vote operations for
the next election.

With the national parties and congressional committees now barred from the soft-money game, fundraisers like Carmichael say that these new entities are essential tools for financing the issue advertising and get-out-the-vote drives that the party committees have traditionally funded with soft dollars. To be sure, the amount of soft money raised has exploded in recent election cycles. In the 2001-02 cycle, the two parties raised a combined \$471.3 million in soft money through October 16, according to the Federal Election Commission. In the previous cycle, which included a presidential race, the soft-money receipts for the two parties totaled \$495 million.

Not surprisingly, advocates of campaign finance reform have blasted some of these new groups for evading both the spirit and the letter of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act. Last month, four reform groups filed a complaint with the FEC alleging that the Leadership Forum and the Democratic State Party Organization were violating the new law. Both fundraising groups countered that they're complying fully with the law and that the charges have no merit.

In their complaint against the forum, the watchdog groups charged that the NRCC's transfer of \$1 million to the Leadership Forum constituted an improper affiliation between the party committee and what is supposed to be an "independent" entity. Larry Noble, the executive director of the Center for Responsive Politics, one of the advocacy groups behind the complaint, argues that under the FEC's newly adopted soft-money rules, "the Leadership Forum was and is financed by the NRCC, making it an affiliated organization."

In its response to the reformers' complaint, the forum declared that the funds it received from the NRCC are in a "segregated account" and won't be spent before any FEC ruling.



The complaint to the FEC also alleges that the Democratic State Party Organization was set up and financed with the help of DNC officials and that it should be treated as an extension of the national party. Carmichael says his group was established appropriately and that it intends to be "transparent" and to "make sure that state parties are fully compliant with the law."

Beyond the legal challenges, some of these new fundraising groups might not get all the support they are hoping for from lobbyists and fundraisers on K Street. In fact, some lobbyists say they are worried about potential conflicts between their day jobs and their soft-money fundraising for the new groups.

Wayne Berman, well-known for his skills at roping in soft-money checks for Republican committees, says he's been approached by some of the new groups that are keen to tap into his Rolodex. But Berman says he's declined to dial for dollars and participate in "these new soft-money-raising activities, because I've been advised that it's inconsistent with the lobbying I do."

Berman says he will continue to volunteer to raise soft money for the Republican Governors Association, where he previously served as finance chair. As a state-based group, the RGA can legally raise soft dollars under the new campaign law so long as it adheres to restrictions on spending those funds only in nonfederal races. For the time being, some campaign finance lawyers are warning donors to be careful about writing any checks to newly created fundraising groups. "I'm telling donors not to contribute until there's more factual and legal clarity," said one Republican campaign lawyer.

A special three-judge panel of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia is likely to rule next month on the constitutionality of key sections of the new law-including the provisions on soft money. That ruling is expected to be appealed to the Supreme Court, which would likely issue a ruling by next summer.

Several of the new entities have been formed as "527" PACs, named for the section of the Internal Revenue Code that governs their operations. These 527s must disclose their donors to the Internal Revenue Service. Other groups have opted to apply for 501(c)(4) or 501(c)(6) nonprofit tax status, designations that are typically given to trade or social-welfare groups and that require less disclosure to the IRS. Meanwhile, older political groups such as the RGA and its counterpart, the Democratic Governors' Association, aren't barred from raising soft money under the new law, so they are looking to stuff their soft-money coffers, too.

Notwithstanding the uncertainties, the amount of money potentially up for grabs has Democratic and Republican stalwarts devising a variety of fundraising plans. Carmichael says the Democratic State Party Organization expects to name an executive director soon and will hold sessions early next year to educate

its fundraisers on the new rules. "We think the new law shifts a lot of the activity back to the states, and we're going to step up to the plate," Carmichael said.

To make that happen, Carmichael has been following up on the sales pitch he made at the Mayflower meeting, an event that drew such big-name Democratic supporters as Stan Chesley, an Ohio-based trial lawyer, and Elizabeth Bagley, a longtime donor from the nation's capital. "We have some interest from people around the country," Carmichael said. "But we don't have any hard commitments." The group has also been getting help in Washington from Craig Smith, a former DNC consultant who had a hand in its formation.

Another prominent Democrat at the Mayflower gathering was Harold Ickes, who was deputy chief of staff in the Clinton administration and is now a DNC consultant. Fundraisers who were there remember McAuliffe saying that Ickes was likely to start a project of his own to raise soft money to help the party's 2004 presidential nominee.

Ickes says he is hoping to start his group by the middle of 2003 and that it would seek to raise tens of millions in soft money to pay for issue ads to help the Democratic presidential nominee in the crucial months between the end of the 2004 primaries and the Democratic convention. Ickes says he's been talking up his idea-dubbed a "presidential media fund"-with potential donors. Separately, Ickes has teamed up with John Podesta, who was a chief of staff in the Clinton White House, and Mort Halperin, a longtime liberal activist who runs the Washington office of the Open Society Institute. Their joint effort, called the American Majority Fund, is just getting off the ground, Ickes said. They hope to use it to more effectively communicate criticism of the conservative agenda and support for progressive alternatives.

With so many groups springing up, Ickes acknowledged that competition for donors will be stiff and that some groups will surely fade away. "It's kind of like the dot-com business," he said. "I think you'll see a lot of mushrooms in '03, and then there will be a shakeout."

Still another new group is the Democratic Senate Majority PAC, established with help from **Monica Dixon**, then a consultant to the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. The PAC, which aims to support Senate Democrats as well as state and local candidates, helped raise money for Sen. Mary L. Landrieu, D-La., who won a runoff election on December 7. The young PAC held a small hard-money fundraiser in late November at the Monocle restaurant that drew outgoing Senate Majority Leader Thomas A. Daschle, D-S.D. Paul Johnson, who managed the successful campaign of incoming Sen. Mark. Pryor, D-Ark., has been recruited to serve as the PAC's executive director.

The Democratic Governors' Association also sees new opportunities for raising money. At its annual gala on February 24, the DGA hopes to beef up its already hefty soft-money fundraising operation; it hauled in close to \$16 million in soft



money in the 2001-02 election cycle, and Executive Director B.J. Thornberry said the association hopes to raise at least \$10 million in 2003.

"In the near term, there's going to be a lot of competition in the marketplace," Thornberry said. "But we've got a track record. We're the only Democratic committee that's made gains since 1999," noting that 24 Democratic governors are now in office and that more than half of the 20 largest states have a Democrat at the helm. Another DGA advantage in the soft-money game is the 50 or so members of its "Chairman's Circle" who either give or raise a minimum of \$75,000 annually.

The New Democrat Network-a large PAC that's become influential by backing centrist Democrats-is yet another group looking to expand. President Simon Rosenberg says his group plans to "reach out to every Democratic Party donor who gives at least \$100,000 annually. We're being very aggressive."

For help in corralling those donors, Rosenberg has tapped the network's high-powered advisory board: former DNC National Chairman Joe Andrew; former Rep. Vic Fazio, D-Calif.; and former White House press secretary Mike McCurry. Rosenberg says he is halfway to his March 31 goal of getting commitments from 30 individuals or companies for \$100,000 contributions next year. Overall, the network hopes to raise about \$15 million in the next cycle, a significant chunk of it in soft money.

Among Republican groups, the Leadership Forum seems to be the furthest along in executing its game plan. Besides Hirschmann and Paxon, the forum expects to receive major fundraising help from Julie Wadler, who runs the Alexandria, Va., consulting firm Epiphany Productions; her company has raised large amounts of hard and soft money for the NRCC and for the leadership PAC of House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert, R-III. Wadler worked at the NRCC when Paxon ran the committee.

In its filing with the IRS, the Leadership Forum said it would help elect Republicans at the state and local levels and would raise issues of importance to the American public. In pursuing the latter mission, especially, the forum is expected to produce a flood of issue ads that could help Republican candidates at all levels, analysts say. Randy Evans, an Atlanta-based lawyer for the forum, said the group "has been carefully and specifically designed to comply" with the campaign finance law and the regulations promulgated by the FEC.

Other new groups are also moving ahead, but gingerly. Before the recent election, the National Republican Senatorial Committee helped to launch the National Committee for a Responsible Senate, a 501(c)(6) group formed by lawyers at Patton Boggs who work with Ben Ginsberg, the NRSC's outside counsel. Lobbyists familiar with the committee say it intends to include some former senators on its board of directors. Chris LaCivita, the NRSC's political director, is a leading candidate to be the executive director of the committee, according to lobbyists.

Meanwhile, the Republican Governors Association is also



pumped up to expand its soft-money haul, which in recent years has been heftier than the Democratic Governors' Association. The RGA raised just under \$35 million in the 2001-02 cycle, about 75 percent of it in soft money, according to Ron Kaufman, the group's outgoing finance chairman. Like its Democratic counterpart, the RGA is planning to hold its winter dinner on February 24, when all of the nation's governors will be in Washington. President Bush and Vice President Cheney have been featured at past RGA events.

"The way we raise money won't change," Kaufman said.
"Because corporations can't give to federal committees anymore, we're just trying to increase the amounts we raise." The association's pitch, he added, is that now that donors can't write big soft-money checks to the national party committees, they have a "great opportunity" to help the RGA.

Similar pitches are coming from conservative heavyweights who have their own groups and are looking to ramp up their softmoney efforts. The Club for Growth, which backs candidates who favor tax cuts, hopes to "pick up a lot of soft money" in the next cycle, said Stephen Moore, the group's president. Moore wants to pull in between \$10 million and \$15 million in the next cycle, a step up from the group's \$7.5 million haul in 2001-02; Moore expects about half of the total to be in soft money.

And Grover Norquist, who runs Americans for Tax Reform-which has used soft money to pay for its many issue ads in recent elections-says he'll likely do more issue advertising. "I've been approached by donors and I've said, 'Sure,' " commented Norquist, who noted that his group has links with many conservative and Republican organizations.

With so many pitches aimed their way-despite the lack of "factual and legal clarity" under the new law-donors from both parties seem certain to face continuing pressure to keep writing big soft-money checks for some time to come.

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The Washington Post, May 07, 2003

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The Washington Post

May 07, 2003, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A01

LENGTH: 996 words

**HEADLINE:** Democrats Initiate New 'Soft Money' Campaign

BYLINE: Jim VandeHei, Washington Post Staff Writer

#### BODY:

Democrats today are kicking off a roundabout way of helping to finance their 2004 congressional campaigns with the very type of unlimited donations from corporations, unions and individuals that many party leaders had vowed to flush from the political system.

The strategy involves creating two new groups unmistakably aligned with the Democratic Party's long-standing campaign organizations for the House and Senate. Technically, however, the two groups are not arms of the Democratic Party. That is a key distinction, because the nation's new campaign finance law bars lawmakers from soliciting "soft money," the unlimited money that politicians still crave.

House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) and Minority Whip Steny H. Hoyer (D-Md.) tonight will headline a fundraiser at the Hotel George for a new group called the New House PAC. Tonight the group will raise "hard money," a limited, regulated type of donation that lawmakers can legally solicit.

But the group plans to ask donors for soft money later this year and serve as a sort of shadow campaign committee for the Democratic Party, according to sources familiar with the effort. The overt blessing of Pelosi, Hoyer and other party leaders is crucial to the group, which hopes to convince potential donors that it is the new surrogate for the Democratic committees no longer allowed to take soft money.

Similarly, Senate Minority Leader Thomas A. Daschle (D-S.D.) and Minority Whip Harry M. Reid (D-Nev.) next week are scheduled to headline a hard money fundraiser at the Phoenix Park Hotel in Washington for the **Democratic Senate Majority Fund.** The new group bills itself in literature to donors as a legal way to funnel soft money through a "critical, and indeed, unique" venture to elect Democrats to the Senate.

Again, winning the imprimatur of Daschle, Reid and other top party members is vital to the group, which intends to operate as the all-but-official stand-in for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC), which for years was permitted to raise and spend soft money. The message to potential donors, say those involved with the new organization, is: of all the

rity fund

groups soliciting soft money to influence campaigns, this is the one best positioned to capture the attention and gratitude of powerful Democratic legislators.

The McCain-Feingold law, enacted last year with crucial support from Democratic lawmakers, barred the national political parties (including their House and Senate campaign committees) from raising soft money. Soft money supposedly is used only for party-building purposes such as voter registration, but in fact it often has financed "issue ads" that attack congressional candidates without explicitly calling for their defeat.

The creation of the two new fundraising groups underscores top Democrats' determination to continue steering soft money to their causes. Many GOP-leaning independent groups are poised to raise millions in soft money for Republican agendas, and Democrats fear a financial swamping in next year's elections if they do not find ways to fight back.

Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), co-author of the campaign finance law, said: "We all know that money is fungible in politics, so this isn't good."

A three-judge panel last week struck down the ban on soft money for national political parties, but left in place a law that prohibits federal lawmakers from raising soft money themselves. As a result, many legal experts believe congressional campaign committees, which are run by lawmakers, will find it difficult if not impossible to raise soft money for the 2004 elections. The Supreme Court will have the final word, but it is unclear when the high court will take up the case.

Republicans are setting up their own soft money groups, including one run by former representative Bill Paxon (R-N.Y.). The Federal Election Commission recently forced it to return a \$ 1 million contribution from the National Republican Congressional Committee. The group, called the Leadership Forum, is promoted by some as the soft money branch for House Republicans. GOP operatives plan several similar groups, but most are waiting for a court ruling before leaping ahead.

Some Democrats do not feel they have time to wait. With a soft-money ban in place, Republicans raised more than three times as much as Democrats during the first three months of this year. In recent years, Democrats had much better luck raising seven-figure checks from union leaders, trial lawyers and Hollywood moguls.

In 2002, nine of the 10 biggest soft-money donors were Democrats, according to PoliticalMoneyLine. The biggest donor was Haim Saban, creator of the "Power Rangers," who gave Democrats more than \$ 9 million. The New House PAC will be run by former 2002 Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee head Howard Wolfson and finance director Jonathan Mantz, underscoring its close link to House Democratic leaders. Wolfson plans to ask donors for soft money to run TV ads and grass-roots operations on behalf of House Democrats, according to people familiar with the group.

"It's hard to raise [soft] money if members of Congress can't ask for it," Wolfson said. "At the same time, the fact that members of Congress are supporting our hard-money effort . . . does send an important" signal to donors.

Operating on the same floor of a 14th Street office building as Wolfson is Marc Farinella, former campaign manager for the late governor Mel Carnahan of Missouri and now executive director of the **Democratic Senate Majority Fund.** 

"In three weeks, can I go to Microsoft and say . . . Daschle, Reid and others senators are committed to this organization" and ask the company for soft money? said Farinella. "Yes, I can have a conversation like that. Their presence makes clear that they think this is an important organization that will ultimately make a difference to help Democrats regain the Senate."

Source: News & Business > News > News, Most Recent Two Years (English, Full Text)

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Roll Call September 15, 2003 Monday

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September 15, 2003 Monday

LENGTH: 795 words

**HEADLINE:** Democratic Senate Majority Fund Slows Activity As Group Awaits Decision in BCRA

Court Case

**BYLINE:** By Chris Cillizza ROLLCALLSTAFF

#### **BODY:**

A political action committee created as a fundraising conduit for Senate Democrats has significantly slowed its operations as it awaits the pending Supreme Court ruling on the BipartisanCampaignReformAct.

The Democratic Senate Majority Fund is currently experiencing "a period of lower activity," said Marc Farinella, a campaign consultant to the group. He rejected the idea that the slowdown was an intermediate step to shuttering the group altogether.

"Presuming the court doesn't throw out McCain-Feingold, this is temporary," said Farinella, referring to the two Senators who sponsored the campaign finance reform legislation. The Supreme Court heard four hours of arguments last week on the constitutionality of the new law, and most legal experts expect a decision by the end of the year so that any changes can be implemented for the 2004 elections.

Under the law, national party committees are banned from accepting or spending so-called soft money, which can be raised in unlimited chunks from corporations, labor unions and individuals.

Soon after President Bush signed the bill, several outside groups were formed in hopes of becoming the unofficial recipients of the soft dollars that had been previously allocated to the committees.

On the Democratic side, the DSMF was joined by the New House PAC, which was founded by former Democratic CongressionalCampaign Committee Executive Director Howard Wolfson and former DCCC Finance Director Jonathan Mantz.

Each group has a hard-money political action committee as well as a 527 arm, which collects soft-dollar contributions. Members can help raise money for the PAC but can in no way be involved in the 527.

There are also a number of other Democratic groups seeking to fill the soft-money void, including the labor-oriented Partnership for America's Families, Americans Coming Together and the John Podesta-led American Majority Institute.

Former New York Republican Rep. BillPaxon and fellow GOP lobbyist SusanHirschmann created the LeadershipForum, a 527 group; three lawyers with close ties to Republican uber-attorney BenGinsberg formed the National Committee for a Responsible Senate, which files as a

501(c)(6) organization, allowing it to collect unlimited contributions without revealing donors.

In the first six months of the year, Democrats were significantly more aggressive in outreach and fundraising than their Republican counterparts.

The DSMF raised \$105,000 in hard dollars in the first six months of 2003 and an additional \$35,000 in soft money.

The soft-money component received a \$15,000 donation from CyberCity Care, a company based in Manasquan, N.J., \$10,000 from Manhattan PSO and \$5,000 each from the InternationalBrotherhood of ElectricalWorkers and attorney Thomas Green.

"We are still raising money but there is a lower level of activity," Farinella said.

The New House PAC raised no soft dollars, but brought in \$101,000 in hard money.

Wolfson said his group continues to aggressively raise money and reach out to Members and interest groups despite the looming court decision.

"We are moving forward, raising money and meeting with donors," Wolfson said.

The structure of the two entities differ, however, making the DSMF a more cumbersome organization to fund on a day-to-day basis.

Both Farinella and Halle Mayes work for the group full-time and draw salaries, while both Mantz and Wolfson are part-time employees and have not received any compensation from the venture so far.

As a result, the DSMF doled out \$63,000 from Jan. 1 to June 30 with \$39,000 of that going to Farinella and his firm, while the New House PAC spent just \$36,000.

Farinella confirmed that the staff had been reduced by one person, but not because of any financial struggles. StephenNeumann, who received \$1,700 in salary in the organization's July quarterly report, left for law school this fall.

Farinella added that his firm has taken on several other clients in order to help defray the overhead costs of the DSMF, a move he said had always been planned.

Reports filed with the InternalRevenue Service indicate that the LeadershipForum, which returned a \$1 million soft-money contribution from the NationalRepublicanCongressionalCommittee in late 2002, had not raised or spent any money through June 30.

Sources familiar with the Forum said it has been aggressively raising money over the past several months, a fact that would be reflected in its year-end report.

The NCRS on the other hand remains largely unformed as it has acquired no staff nor done any fundraising so far this year. Some GOPers close to the group are skeptical that it will ever get off the ground given donor concerns about running afoul of BCRA.

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November 21, 2002 Thursday 19:00 pm Eastern Time

EDITION: pm

**SECTION: CAMPAIGN FINANCE** 

LENGTH: 300 words

**HEADLINE:** Dem PAC Forms To Aid Landrieu, Other Candidates

#### **BODY:**

Even though the six national party committees have been barred since the elections from raising and spending those large unregulated soft money checks, there is already pressure on some Democrats to pony up soft dollars to a newly created Democratic so-called Section 527 PAC whose first mission will be to help Sen. Mary Landrieu, D-La., win her Dec. 7 runoff election. The Democratic Senate Majority PAC, which was set up right before Election Day as the vehicle to help raise soft and hard money for Senate and other Democratic candidates, sent out a Nov. 14 alert to Democratic donors to inform them that they are open for business and "plan to take an active role in the Louisiana runoffs." At a breakfast at the Monocle Wednesday, more than a dozen lobbyists heard about the Louisiana fundraising drive from Kim Kauffman, a political consultant who is helping rope in money for the new PAC. Senate Majority Leader Daschle was at the breakfast briefly and talked about the importance of the group's efforts to raise hard dollars, but did not participate in any discussion of soft money fundraising. "Certainly, Daschle as the Democratic leader is going to encourage hard money contributions to groups engaged in helping elect Democrats," a spokeswoman said.

Separately, a lobbyist who attended the breakfast said the PAC is also trying to raise almost \$2 million in soft dollars for the Louisiana campaign blitz. The Nov. 14 letter soliciting funds from Democratic supporters notes that the PAC can legally accept both hard and soft dollars, and intends to "help Democrats at the federal, state and local levels win elections." The letter was signed by Monica Dixon, the group's treasurer and a former consultant at the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. - by Peter Stone

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Roll Call March 6, 2003 Thursday

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Roll Call

March 6, 2003 Thursday

LENGTH: 1046 words

**HEADLINE:** PACs Aim To Close Gap; Top Democrats Open New Groups

BYLINE: By Chris Cillizza Roll Call Staff

#### **BODY:**

Top Democratic operatives have launched a pair of political action committees designed to raise both hard and soft money for House and Senate Democrats, sources said Wednesday.

Strategists see the new PACs as a critical tool in their effort not only to remain financially competitive with Republicans, but also to comply with the strictures of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act.

The New House PAC will be run by former 2002 Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee Executive Director Howard Wolfson and DCCC Finance Director Jonathan Mantz.

The Democratic Senate Majority Political Action Committee will be headed by Marc Farinella, former chief of staff and campaign manager for the late Missouri Gov. Mel Carnahan (D). Monica Dixon, a top aide to then-Vice President Al Gore, will be the Senate PAC's treasurer. Both groups have a hard-money component, through which they can raise dollars in conjunction with lawmakers, and a soft-money arm, whose activities can in no way be associated or coordinated with any politician or party committee.

"One of the principal lessons of the last cycle for me is that Democrats have to do more in order to be financially competitive with Republicans," said Wolfson, now a consultant at the Glover Park Group. "There needs to be more infrastructure on the Democratic side."

Wolfson and Mantz met with House Democratic leaders Tuesday night to explain the hard-money end of the PAC, according to a source in the room.

"The Members understood why it would be important to support an organization that was going to help House Democrats," said the source.

Already Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (Calif.) and Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee Chairman Robert Matsui (Calif.) have cut checks to the organization, Wolfson said.

A late April fundraising event in Washington featuring Pelosi is also scheduled that will raise dollars solely for the hard-money end of the PAC. Wolfson estimated the event will raise "low six figures."

Wolfson said that no decisions have been made about whether the PAC will primarily focus on raising hard or soft dollars. Hard-money contributions to the groups are capped at \$5,000 per year, while soft-money donations are unlimited and can be spent on a variety of activities,



including issue advocacy advertising.

Wolfson would not speculate on the total dollar amount the group hopes to raise for the cycle. "Our goal is to raise as much money as we can to support Democrats running for the House," he said.

The bulk of the Democratic Senate Majority PAC's fundraising efforts will be geared toward soft money, Farinella said Wednesday.

"The idea is not to duplicate the things that party committee can do," he said. Under BCRA, party committees are barred from raising and spending soft dollars.

"It is left to organizations such as [ours] to raise soft money," Farinella said.

The Democratic Senate Majority PAC has been in existence since late last year, when it helped raise money for the runoff campaign of Sen. Mary Landrieu (D-La.).

Prior to the Dec. 7 runoff, now-Minority Leader Thomas Daschle (D-S.D.) attended an informational session introducing the group on the Hill, according to Farinella.

The PAC raised \$15,000 on its federal side for the race and made a \$1,000 contribution to Landrieu, according to a year-end financial report filed with the Federal Election Commission.

The Internal Revenue Service has yet to post a year-end summary report for the soft-money arm of the PAC despite the fact that filings were due to the agency by Jan. 31.

The Senate PAC will kick off its hard-dollar fundraising in this cycle on April 9 at an event featuring Daschle and Senate Minority Whip Harry Reid (D-Nev.).

Farinella said that he and Dixon have not yet met with Daschle, Reid or Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Chairman Jon Corzine (N.J.) to discuss the hard-money aspect of the committee.

"We're very much in the planning stages," he said, adding: "I am quite sure that Democratic Senators know" about the PAC.

Although the two groups will function independently and have separate staffs, they enjoy a strong working relationship and may even share office space, according to sources familiar with both PACs.

They are jointly sponsoring an invitation-only briefing session in Washington on March 11 for donors and fundraisers about the do's and don'ts regarding the new campaign finance system. The meeting will be run by Marc Elias of Perkins Coie.

"There is a lot of demand about McCain-Feingold and what it all means and how their existence changes," Farinella said.

Democrats are not alone in their efforts to establish organizations designed to be a conduit for political dollars.

The National Committee for a Republican Senate was established in late October as a 501(c)6 organization, which allows it to accept unlimited donations and keep the identities of its contributors hidden.

The Leadership Forum, which was founded by Susan Hirschmann - a former top aide to Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Texas) - is a 527 group that appears to be a potential outlet for large donations for those interested in House elections.



The National Republican Congressional Committee transferred \$1 million in soft money to the group at the end of December but was forced to ask for the money back after outcry from the media and campaign finance watchdogs.

One thing that is clear in the post-campaign finance reform world is that Democrats face an immense challenge in seeking to stay within financial shouting distance of their Republican counterparts.

The National Republican Senatorial Committee raised \$58 million in hard money in the 2002 cycle; the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee banked \$48 million in hard funds.

On the House side, the picture was more bleak for Democrats.

The National Republican Congressional Committee raised \$110 million in hard money to the DCCC's \$48 million. In the first month of 2003, the NRCC raised \$6.9 million in hard dollars; the DCCC raised \$1.7 million.

"The DCCC is off to a phenomenal start," said Wolfson. "It had the best [fundraising] January in its history and was still outraised by the NRCC three and a half to one. That's a call to action."

LOAD-DATE: March 6, 2003

Source: News & Business > News > News, Most Recent Two Years (English, Full Text)

Terms: cillizza (Edit Search)

Mandatory Terms: date in-between 03/06/2003: 03/06/2003

View: Full

Date/Time: Monday, October 20, 2003 - 11:17 AM EDT

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#### **NCRS Remains On Hold**

July 3, 2003 By Chris Cillizza, Roll Call Staff

The future of a group aimed at pushing Republican issues both in the Senate and on the campaign trail remains in limbo as its organizers wait for a final signal from the Supreme Court about the future of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act.

The National Committee for a Responsible Senate was formed just prior to the 2002 election and was seen as the likely recipient of the unlimited soft-dollar contributions that the National Republican Senatorial Committee was banned from accepting by BCRA.

But, in the intervening seven months, the group has hired no staff and done no fundraising, while similar groups assembled by Democrats have moved forward aggressively.

Republicans say privately that donors are wary of contributing to a group that may become irrelevant if the new campaign law is struck down, and organizers are well aware that the NRSC would be looking to the same contributors if that happens.

One GOP strategist familiar with the group's inner workings said it has adopted a "wait-and-see" approach out of necessity.

"You can go full throttle and not materially advance yourself because the broader political community is watching and waiting," the strategist added.

Several sources consulted about the future of the NCRS affirmed that it would likely develop into a full-blown entity but were less certain about how large a role it would play in the 2004 election and beyond.

"The question is whether it becomes a major player or simply another player," said a Republican strategist.

The uncertainty surrounding BCRA and the pending Supreme Court review, which will be heard in September, as well as the controversy surrounding the Leadership Forum, a group with strong staff connections to the National Republican Congressional Committee, has made the founders of the NCRS cautious about proceeding with significant fundraising, sources said late last week.

Democrats have moved more quickly to collect the soft-money donations previously given to the party committees.

Both the Democratic Senate Majority Fund and the New House PAC have held events with Members to raise hard money for their efforts. Each has a soft-money, 527 component as well, which under BCFA cannot have involvement with Members of Congress.

On May 13, the DSMF held a hard-dollar fundraiser in Washington with 18 Senators, including Minority Leader Tom Daschle (S.D.) and Minority Whip Harry Reid (Nev.). The group has also done several other "meet-and-greet" events with Members, although money has not been raised at those gatherings, sources confirmed last week.

"Our focus this year is on creating relationships, familiarizing prospective contributors with our organization, and educating people about our objectives and mission," said the group's executive director, Marc Farinella. "We are raising the funds we need to operate and grow, and that's exactly what we knew we would have to do to be successful."

The New House PAC, run by former Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee Executive Director Howard Wolfson, held a late April fundraiser with Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (Calif.), its only event featuring Members so far this year. Wolfson would not discuss any details regarding the financial state of his organization.

The federal side of both organizations must file fundraising reports with the Federal Election Commission by July 15.

A slew of other fundraising entities featuring major players in Democratic politics have also cropped up. These include the American Majority Institute — led by former White House Chief of Staff John Podesta — and the Partnership for America's Families, a labor-oriented group headed by former AFL-CIO official Steve Rosenthal.

Much of the Democratic urgency is born out of the growing hard-money discrepancy between their party committees and those of Republicans.

In the 2002 cycle, the three Republican party committees raised \$332 million in hard dollars to \$163 million for Democrats. To this point in the current cycle, the results have been similar.

As a result of that disparity, GOP operatives are content to wait for the court decision rather than risk potential violations of the new law.

The NCRS was formed at the end of October as a 501(c)6 organization, a nonprofit group that is allowed to accept unlimited donations without revealing the source of the dollars.

Three attorneys with the Washington powerhouse law firm Patton Boggs LLP — Christopher Hellmich, Eric Kuwana and Sean Clancy — founded the group. All three work under GOP lawyer Ben Ginsberg at the firm; Ginsberg is one of a handful of operatives closely involved in the organization, according to several sources. He did not return a call for comment.

The example set by the Leadership Forum stands as a cautionary tale to those with an interest in the NCRS.

Days before the 2002 election, the NRCC made a \$1 million soft-money contribution to the group, which is headed by Susan Hirschmann, former chief of staff to Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Texas) and former Rep. Bill Paxon (R-N.Y.).

A number of campaign finance watchdogs protested the donation as an attempted skirting of BCRA, which went into effect on the day after the election.

The group gave the money back to the NRCC at the end of 2002; the FEC later dismissed a complete that the Leadership Forum and the NRCC had purposely attempted to evade the box sets the backets.

Republican sources confirmed that the forum has had almost no other activity in the first six months of the year but is preparing to ramp up in the coming weeks.

Sources close to all four of the committees cautioned that in past cycles the majority of the soft-money contributions came during the election year not in the off year.

In the 2002 campaign, the DSCC and DCCC had raised a combined \$23 million in soft money through June 2001. The NRSC and NRCC had brought in \$31 million.

"We expect that the spade work we are doing now will result in significant financial strength for our organization by the time the election approaches," predicted Farinella.

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Source: News & Business > News > News, Most Recent Two Years (English, Full Text)

Terms: theimer and date(geq (05/07/2003) and leq (05/07/2003)) (Edit Search)

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The Associated Press May 7, 2003, Wednesday, BC cycle

#### The Associated Press

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May 7, 2003, Wednesday, BC cycle

**SECTION:** Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 762 words

**HEADLINE:** New partisan groups find way to keep raising money with members of Congress

BYLINE: By SHARON THEIMER, Associated Press Writer

**DATELINE: WASHINGTON** 

#### **BODY:**

A handful of Democrat-aligned groups are using lawmakers to draw in donors at fund-raisers that collect legally limited contributions, then planning to solicit contributors for "soft money" checks at a later date.

The groups, such as the New Democrat Network and the recently founded New House PAC and Democratic Senate Majority Fund, are finding a way to facilitate raising soft money under a campaign finance law that bans federal officeholders from soliciting the corporate and union donations.

The New House PAC planned a fund-raiser Wednesday evening in Washington featuring House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi, D-Calif., Minority Whip Steny Hoyer of Maryland and several Democratic House members.

The event will raise only hard money, said Howard Wolfson, who runs the PAC. Hard money - limited contributions from individuals and political action committees - is the only kind federal officeholders and candidates are allowed to raise under the law that took effect Nov. 6. The law also bans national party committees from raising soft money.

Wolfson, former executive director of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, said the New House PAC plans to raise soft money, but due to the law, members of Congress won't be involved in that part of the group's fund raising.

"I hope the fact that members of Congress are helping us raise hard money will send an important signal about the strength and viability of our organization," Wolfson said. "But at no time will members be involved in the soft money fund-raising that we engage in."

The New House PAC, designed to restore Democrats' House majority, was formed in November around the time the law took effect. It was originally called the PAC for a Democratic House.

Another new group, the Democratic Senate Majority Fund, was formed to help Senate Democrats regain their majority. It plans a hard-money fund raiser in Washington Tuesday headlined by Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.D., and other Senate Democrats.



The Senate fund also plans to raise soft money but because of the new law won't feature federal officeholders in those solicitations or invite them to those fund raisers, executive director Marc Farinella said.

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He said that even though Daschle, who has been heavily involved in fund-raising for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, is attending the event, it shouldn't be viewed as a signal by the Democratic leader that donors should now direct soft money to the Democratic Senate Majority Fund.

"We are not anointing anything. We are a separate organization from the DSCC," said Farinella, former campaign manager to the late Democratic Senate candidate Mel Carnahan of Missouri. "We hope people feel we're going to play an important role in electing Democrats to the Senate."

The Washington Post first reported Wednesday on the groups' new fund-raising efforts.

Some long-standing organizations are also taking on new roles under the soft money ban. The New Democrat Network, set up in the 1990s to help promote then-President Bill Clinton's policies, held a hard-money fund-raiser last month attended by several members of Congress and Democratic National Committee Chairman Terry McAuliffe. It also raises soft money and keeps those efforts separate from the fund raising it does with federal officeholders, president Simon Rosenberg said.

A federal court on Friday struck down part of the law's soft-money ban and ruled that political parties could raise soft money for get-out-the-vote drives and other general party-building activities. The court also said national, state and local parties could solicit any kind of money for political organizations such as the New Democrat Network and other non-party groups, Democratic attorney Bob Bauer said.

Rosenberg said that could have a major impact on groups like his.

Under the old campaign finance law, there "was a hub-and-spoke system where the parties were the hub and the spokes were all the partisan groups on each side working together," Rosenberg said. The court's ruling could help restore their ability to work together, he said.

Those on the Republican side include The Leadership Forum, run by Susan Hirschmann, former chief of staff to House Majority Leader Tom DeLay, R-Texas; the Republican State Leadership Committee, which plans to raise money for state and local election activity; and the Republican Governors Association, which separated itself from the Republican National Committee so it could continue raising soft money for nonfederal election activity.

LOAD-DATE: May 8, 2003

Source: News & Business > News > News, Most Recent Two Years (English, Full Text)

Terms: theimer and date(geq (05/07/2003) and leq (05/07/2003)) (Edit Search)

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Date/Time: Monday, October 20, 2003 - 11:53 AM EDT

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Source: News & Business > News > News, Most Recent Two Years (English, Full Text)

Terms: dccc and date(geq (01/07/2003) and leq (01/07/2003)) (Edit Search)

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National Journal's House Race Hotline January 7, 2003, Tuesday

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January 7, 2003, Tuesday

**SECTION: NATIONAL BRIEFING** 

**CONG-DISTRICT: DCCC** 

LENGTH: 566 words

**HEADLINE:** Pelosi "Convinced" Matsui To Take The Helm

#### **BODY:**

Roll Call's Cillizza reports, Incoming DCCC Chair Bob Matsui "admits he wasn't initially thrilled with the idea" of taking the helm of the DCCC. Matsui said "he changed his mind about the post" during a 45-min. conversation with Min. Leader Nancy Pelosi. Matsui: "She really convinced me of the commitment of the Caucus and the leadership that we are going to take the House back." The choice of Matsui "energized" House Dems, "who were somewhat downtrodden after losing six seats" in '02. DCCC transitional exec dir Howard Wolfson: "He is an outstanding selection. [Matsui] is extremely well-regarded and respected in the Caucus and in the D.C. Democratic donor community." One senior Dem aide "was more frank about Matsui's appeal": "He is a respected senior member and an ethnic minority." Matsui "is also a close Pelosi ally," which means "there is someone loyal [at the DCCC] who will not challenge her," according to one aide. Matsui said "he expects to bring on several Members to serve in advisory roles, although no final decisions have been made." Matsui "mentioned" Rep. William Jefferson (D-LA 02) and Rep. Mike Thompson (D-CA 01) -- "both of whom had been under consideration" for **DCCC** chair -- "as likely choices for these posts." And, although Matsui said that "the most important thing in any organizational structure is hiring the best staff you can find," Matsui "has yet to name an executive director, political director or communications director." Longtime Pelosi fundraiser Brian Wolff has moved to the DCCC, and is "widely expected to serve as" DCCC finance dir. Meanwhile, Wolfson, as well as "press specialists" Kim Rubey and Burns Strider are working for the **DCCC** transition team (1/6).

CBC Holding Fire Till Committee Assignments Are Handed Out Roll Call's Billings reports, Cong. Black Caucus members are "still stinging" over the fact that Pelosi named Matsui as **DCCC** Chair -- passing over "one of their own." However, CBC members "are tempering their complaints in the hopes" that Pelosi "will elevate CBC members to other plum posts this week." Dem sources said, "with other appointments outstanding," the fallout over Jefferson being bypassed "could still be minimized." However, Dem sources "stressed" that Pelosi "offered no firm commitments to tapping CBC members." Starting at 11 a.m. today, the Dem Steering Cmte "will begin doling out cmte posts for the new Congress. "Among the plums" are slots on Approps and the ranking member jobs on House Admin and House Intel -- "both of which hold possibilities for key black Members." When asked "the likely reaction from CBC members if they aren't given those spots," incoming CBC Chair Elijah Cummings "would only say": "We're going to have to cross that bridge when we get there." Meanwhile, Rep. Chuck Fattah (D-PA 02) "stressed" that, "while disappointed over Jefferson," CBC members are "relishing the fact that" the Dem Caucus elected Rep. James Clyburn (D-SC 06) as Caucus Vice Chair. Fattah: "The political process is going to have wins and losses." Another Dem aide suggested: "The damage with the CBC could have been a lot worse if it hadn't been Bob Matsui, mainly because he's so widely respected,

but he's also more senior than Jefferson on Ways and Means and it also helps that he is a person of color, even if he isn't African-American." Matsui is Japanese-American (1/6).

LOAD-DATE: January 7, 2003

Source: News & Business > News > News, Most Recent Two Years (English, Full Text)

Terms: dccc and date(geq (01/07/2003) and leq (01/07/2003)) (Edit Search)

View: Full

Date/Time: Monday, October 20, 2003 - 11:59 AM EDT

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Form **8871** (Rev. July 2003)

### Political Organization Notice of Section 527 Status

OMB No. 1545-1693

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

To support Democratic candidates and committees.

Pairt General Information	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
1 Name of organization	Employer identification number		
Democratic Senate Majority PAC-Nonfederal Account	11 - 3660822		
2 Mailing address (P.O. box or number, street, and room 607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800	or suite number)		
City or town, state, and ZIP code Washington, DC 20005			
3 Check applicable box:Initial notice/	Amended notice Final notice		
4a Date established	4b Date of material change		
5 E-mail address of organization no@email			
6a Name of custodian of records	Custodian's address		
Monica Dixon	607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800		
	Washington, DC 20005		
7a Name of contact person	Contact person's address		
Monica Dixon	607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800		
·	Washington, DC 20005		
8 Business address of organization (if different from ma 607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800	iling address shown above). Number, street, and room or suite number		
City or town, state, and ZIP code Washington, DC 20005			
9a Election authority	9b Election authority identification number		
NONE			
Part II Notification of Claim of Exemption	on From Filing Certain Forms (see instructions)		
10a Is this organization claiming exemption from filing Fostate or local political organization? Yes No  10b If 'Yes,' list the state where the organization files repo	orm 8872, Political Organization Report of Contributions and Expenditures, as a qualified		
Part III Purpose  12 Describe the purpose of the organization			

Part IV List of All Related Er	ntities (see instruction	us)	
13 Check if the organization has no related			
14a Name of related entity	14b Relationship	14c Address	
Democratic Senate Majority PAC-Federal Account	Federal Account	607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800	
Account		Washington, DC 20005	
Part V List of All Officers, D	Pirectors, and Highly	Compensated Employees (see instructions)	
15a Name	15b Title	15c Address	
Monica Dixon	Treasurer 607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800		
	•	Washington, DC 20005	
	·		
Internal Revenue Code, and the	at I have examined this notice,	ed in Part I is to be treated as a tax-exempt organization described in section 527 of the including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge lat I am the official authorized to sign this report, and I am signing by entering my name	
Monica Dixon	•	11/04/2002	
Sign Name of authorized office			
Here Name of authorized office	ıaı	Date	

Form **8871** (Rev. July 2003)

### Political Organization Notice of Section 527 Status

OMB No. 1545-1693

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

To support Democratic candidates and committees.

Part I General Information	
1 Name of organization	Employer identification number
Democratic Senate Majority Fund Nonfederal Account	11 - 3660822
2 Mailing address (P.O. box or number, street, and room or	r suite number)
607 14th Street, NW Suite 800	
City or town, state, and ZIP code	
Washington, DC 20005	
3 Check applicable box:Initial notice ∠ Am	ended notice Final notice
4a Date established	4b Date of material change
11/04/2002	04/02/2003
5 E-mail address of organization	
no@email	
6a Name of custodian of records	Custodian's address
Monica Dixon	607 14th Street, NW Suite 800
	Washington, DC 20005
7a Name of contact person	Contact person's address
Monica Dixon	607 14th Street, NW Suite 800
	Washington, DC 20005
8 Business address of organization (if different from mailing	ng address shown above). Number, street, and room or suite number
607 14th Street, NW Suite 800	·
City or town, state, and ZIP code	
Washington, DC 20005	
9a Election authority	9b Election authority identification number
NONE	
Part II Notification of Claim of Exemption	From Filing Certain Forms (see instructions)
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state or local political organization? Yes <u>No </u>	n 8872, Political Organization Report of Contributions and Expenditures, as a qualified
10b If 'Yes,' list the state where the organization files report	is:
11 Is this organization claiming exemption from filing Form	n 990 (or 990-EZ), Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax, as a caucus or
associations of state or local officials? Yes _ No ⊻	
Part III Purpose	
12 Describe the purpose of the organization	

Part IV List of All Related En	itities (see instruction	s)
13 Check if the organization has no related	l entitles	
14a Name of related entity	14b Relationship	14c Address
Democratic Senate Majority Fund Federal Account	Federal Account	607 14th Street, NW Suite 800
•	·	Washington, DC 20005
Part V List of All Officers, D		Compensated Employees (see instructions)
15a Name	15b Title	15c Address
Monica Dixon	Treasurer	607 14th Street, NW Suite 800
		Washington, DC 20005
Internal Revenue Code, and that and belief, it is true, correct, and below.  Monica Dixon	at I have examined this notice,	ed in Part I is to be treated as a tax-exempt organization described in section 527 of the including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge at I am the official authorized to sign this report, and I am signing by entering my name 04/16/2003
Sign Name of authorized offic Here	ial	Date

(Rev. July 2003)

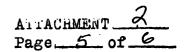
### Political Organization Notice of Section 527 Status

OMB No. 1545-1693

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

General Information	ion	
1 Name of organization		Employer identification number
Democratic Senate Majority Fund No	nfederal Account	11 - 3660822
2 Mailing address (P.O. box or nur	nber, street, and room	or suite number)
607 14th Street, NW Suite 800		
City or town, state, and ZIP code		
Washington, DC 20005		
3 Check applicable box:	Initial notice 👱 Ar	mended notice Final notice
4a Date established		4b Date of material change
11/04/2002		09/15/2003
5 E-mail address of organization		
no@email		
6a Name of custodian of records		Custodian's address
Marc Farinella		607 14th Street, NW Suite 800
		Washington, DC 20005
7a Name of contact person		Contact person's address
Marc Farinella		607 14th Street, NW Suite 800
		Washington, DC 20005
8 Business address of organizatio	n (if different from mail	ling address shown above). Number, street, and room or suite number
607 14th Street, NW Suite 800		
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Washington, DC 20005		
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Part II Notification of C	laim of Exemption	n From Filing Certain Forms (see instructions)
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state or local political organization?	' Yes No <u>⊬</u>	
0b If 'Yes,' list the state where the	organization files repo	rts:
1 Is this organization claiming ex	emption from filing For	rm 990 (or 990-EZ), Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax, as a caucus or
essociations of state or local officia		
Part III Purpose		
2 Describe the purpose of the organic	anization	

To support Democratic candidates and committees.



14a Name of related entity	14b Relationship	14c Address		
Democratic Senate Majority PAC- Account	Federal Affiliated	607 14th Street, NW Suite 800 Washington, DC 20005		
Part V List of All Off	icers, Directors, and Highl	y Compensated Employees (see instructions)		
15a Name	15b Title	15c Address		
Marc Farinella	Treasurer	Treasurer 607 14th Street, NW Suite 800		
		Washington, DC 20005		
Internal Revenue Co	ode, and that I have examined this notic	med in Part I is to be treated as a tax-exempt organization described in section 527 be, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my know		
and belief, It is true, below. Marc Farinella	correct, and complete. I further declare	that I am the official authorized to sign this report, and I am signing by entering my 09/15/2003		
Sign Name of auth				

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see separate instructions.

Form **8872** (July 2000)

### Political Organization Report of Contributions and Expenditures

OMB No. 1545-1696

ertment of the Treasury nai Revenue Service		<b>.</b>	See 50	parate instructions.			- 1		
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	ete, and ZIP code on, DC 200								
E-mail address n/a	of organization						4 Date of Nover	rganizat nber 4	ion was formed 4, 2002
Name of custoo	lian of records		5b	Custodian's address 607 14th Street	et. NW. S	uite 80	0		
Monica Dia	kon			Washington, I					
Name of contac	t person		6b	Contact person's add		Suite 80	00		
Monica Dix	con	·.		Washington,				•••••	
Business addre	ss of organizatio	n (if different from m	Hing ac	dress shown above).	Number, stre	et, and ro	om or suit	numbe	or
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Under pen	aties of perjury, 1 d it is true, correct,	eclare that I have exami		report, including accomp	enying schedul	es and state	ements, and	to the be	st of my knowledge

FEB 0 6 2003 OGDEN, UT

ATTACHMENT 3
Page of 3

Form **8872** (7-2000)

Form 8872 (11-2002) Schedule A Itemized Contributions Schedule A page 1 of 1 Name of organization Employer identification number **Democratic Senate Majority PAC - Nonfederal Account** 11:3660822 Name of contributor's employer Contributor's name, mailing address and ZIP code Amount of contribution Sack Bendheim **Philipp Brothers Chemicals** One Parker Plaza Contributor's occupation Ft Lee, NJ 07024 President 5000.00 Date of contribution Aggregate contributions 5000.00 12/8/02 year-to-date . . Contributor's name, mailing address and ZIP code Name of contributor's employer Amount of contribution Contributor's occupation Date of contribution Aggregate contributions year-to-date . . ightharpoonsContributor's name, mailing address and ZIP code Name of contributor's employer Amount of contribution Contributor's occupation Date of contribution Aggregate contributions year-to-date Contributor's name, mailing address and ZIP code Name of contributor's employer Amount of contribution Contributor's occupation Date of contribution Aggregate contributions year-to-date . . 1 Contributor's name, mailing address and ZIP code Name of contributor's employer **Amount of contribution** Contributor's occupation Date of contribution Aggregate contributions year-to-date . . Contributor's name, mailing address and ZIP code Name of contributor's employer Amount of contribution Contributor's occupation Date of contribution Aggregate contributions year-to-date Contributor's name, mailing address and ZIP code Name of contributor's employer Amount of contribution Contributor's occupation Date of contribution Aggregate contributions year-to-date Contributor's name, mailing address and ZIP code Name of contributor's employer Amount of contribution Contributor's occupation Date of contribution Aggregate contributions er-to-date Contributor's name, mailing address and ZIP code Name of contributor's employer Amount of contribution Contributor's occupation Date of contribution Aggregate contributions year-to-date Subtotal of contributions reported on this page only. Enter here and also include this amount in the total on line 9 5000.00 of Form 8872 .

Form 8872 (11-2002)

Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Blagojevich for Governor Name of recipient's employer Amount of expenditure 4000.00 161 North Clark, 24th Floor Chicago, IL 60601 Recipient's occupation Date of expenditure 12/31/02 Purpose of expenditure Contribution Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Name of recipient's employer Amount of expenditure Recipient's occupation Date of expenditure Purpose of expenditure The state of the s Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Name of recipient's employer Amount of expenditure Recipient's occupation Date of expenditure Purpose of expenditure Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Name of recipient's employer Amount of expenditure Recipient's occupation. Date of expenditure Purpose of expenditure Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Name of recipient's employer Amount of expenditure Date of expenditure Recipient's occupation Purpose of expenditure Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Name of recipient's employer Amount of expenditure

Form 8872 (11-2002).
Schedule B

Name of organization

Purpose of expenditure

tine 10 of Form 8872

**Itemized Expenditures** 

**Democratic Senate Majority PAC - Nonfederal Account** 

ATTACHMENT 3
Page 3 of 3

4000.00

Form 8872 (11-2002)

Date of expenditure

Schedule B page 1 of

11 3660822

**Employer identification number** 

Subtotal of expenditures reported on this page only. Enter here and also include this amount in the total on

Recipient's occupation

Form **8872** 

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service Political Organization Report of Contributions and Expenditures

OMB No. 1545-1696

► See separate instructions.

A For the period beginning: 01/01/2003 a	nd ending: 06/30/2003
B Check applicable box:   ✓ Initial report   — Change	of address Amended report Final report
1 Name of organization: Democratic Senate Majority Fund Nonfe	ederal Account Employer identification number: 11 - 3660822
2 Mailing address (P.O. box or number, street, and room or suit 607 14th Street, NW Suite 800	te number)
City or town, state, and ZIP code Washington, DC 20005	
3 E-mail address of organization: no@email	4 Date organization was formed: 11/04/2002
5a Name of custodian of records  Monica Dixon	5a Custodian's address 607 14th Street, NW Suite 800 Washington, DC 20005
6a Name of contact person  Monica Dixon	6b Contact person's address 607 14th Street, NW Suite 800 Washington, DC 20005
7 Business address of organization (if different from mailing at 607 14th Street, NW Suite 800 City or town, state, and ZIP code Washington, DC 20005	ddress shown above). Number, street, and room or suite number
8 Type of report (check only one box)  — First quarterly report (due by April 15)  — Second quarterly report (due by July 15)  — Third quarterly report (due by October 15)  — Year-end report (due by January 31)  ✓ Mid-year report (Non-election year only-due by July 31)	<ul> <li>Monthly report for the month of: (due by the 20th day following the month shown above, except the December report, which is due by January 31)</li> <li>Pre-election report (due by the 12th or 15th day before the election) (1) Type of election: (2) Date of election: (3) For the state of:</li> <li>Post-general election report (due by the 30th day after general election) (1) Date of election: (2) For the state of:</li> </ul>
•	nedules A)
Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined the and belief, it is true, correct, and complete.  Monica Dixon  Sign Here  Signature of authorized official	nis report, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge

ATTACHMENT 4
Page of 3

FORM 8872 (11-2002)	the state of the s	
Schedule A Itemized Contributions		Schedule A
Contributor's name, mailing address and ZIP code Interntl Brotherhood of Electrical Workers COPE 1125 15th Street, NW Washington, DC 20005	Name of contributor's employer N/A Contributor's occupation N/A Aggregate contributions year-to-date \$ 5000	Amount of contribution \$ 5000 Date of contribution 06/30/2003
Contributor's name, mailing address and ZIP code Cyber City Care Com Inc. 12 Sims Avenue Manasquan, NJ 08736	Name of contributor's employer N/A Contributor's occupation N/A Aggregate contributions year-to-date \$ 15000	Amount of contribution \$ 15000 Date of contribution 05/19/2003
Contributor's name, mailing address and ZIP code Manhattan PSO LLC 784 Morris Turnpike Suite 134 Short Hills, NJ 07078	Name of contributor's employer N/A Contributor's occupation N/A Aggregate contributions year-to-date \$ 10000	Amount of contribution \$ 10000 Date of contribution 05/19/2003
Contributor's name, mailing address and ZIP code Thomas R. Green 1830 Craig Park Court St. Louis, MO 63146	Name of contributor's employer Law Offices of Thomas R. Green Contributor's occupation Attorney Aggregate contributions year-to-date \$ 5000	Amount of contribution \$ 5000 Date of contribution 03/27/2003

Schedule B Itemized Expenditures	to restable to the transmitted and the tra	Schedule B
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Blagojevich for Governor 2934 West Sunnyside Chicago, IL 60625	Name of recipient's employer N/A Recipients's occupation N/A	Amount of Expenditure \$ 4000 Date of expenditure 05/07/2003
Purpose of expenditure Contribution (Reissue)		
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Democratic Senate Majority Fund - Federal Account 607 14th Street, NW Suite 800 Washington, DC 20005	Name of recipient's employer N/A Recipients's occupation N/A	Amount of Expenditure \$ 1358 Date of expenditure 04/14/2003
Purpose of expenditure Transfer to Federal Account for Allocable Expenses	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Democratic Senate Majority Fund - Federal Account 607 14th Street, NW Suite 800 Washington, DC 20005	Name of recipient's employer N/A Recipients's occupation N/A	Amount of Expenditure \$ 3889 Date of expenditure 04/01/2003
Purpose of expenditure Transfer to Federal Account for Allocable Expenses		
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Democratic Senate Majority Fund - Federal Account 607 14th Street, NW Suite 800 Washington, DC 20005	Name of recipient's employer N/A Recipients's occupation N/A	Amount of Expenditure \$ 23877 Date of expenditure 06/03/2003
Purpose of expenditure Transfer to Federal Account for Allocable Expenses		

Form **88/1** (Rev. July 2003)

### Political Organization Notice of Section 527 Status

OMB No. 1545-1693

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

To support Democratic candidates and committees.

4 Name of experiences	Employed identification and a		
Name of organization     PAC for a Democratic House - Nonfederal Account	Employer identification number  11 - 3660818		
FAC for a Definiciant Flouse - Nothederal Account	11 - 3000010		
2 Mailing address (P.O. box or number, street, and	room or suite number)		
607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800			
City or town, state, and ZIP code			
Washington, DC 20005			
3 Check applicable box:Initial notice	Amended notice Final notice		
4a Date established	4b Date of material change		
5 E-mail address of organization			
no@email			
6a Name of custodian of records	Custodian's address		
Karen Hancox	607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800		
	Washington, DC 20005		
7a Name of contact person	Contact person's address		
Karen Hancox	607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800		
	Washington, DC 20005		
<u>-</u> ,	n mailing address shown above). Number, street, and room or suite number		
607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800			
City or town, state, and ZIP code			
Washington, DC 20005	·		
9a Election authority	9b Election authority identification number		
NONE			
David Natification of Claim of Frame	nation From Filing Contain Forms (see instructions)		
	ption From Filing Certain Forms (see instructions) ng Form 8872, Political Organization Report of Contributions and Expenditures, as a qualified		
state or local political organization? Yes No			
10b If 'Yes,' list the state where the organization files	s reports:		
11 Is this organization claiming exemption from fili	ng Form 990 (or 990-EZ), Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax, as a caucus or		
associations of state or local officials? Yes _ No _			
Part III Purpose			
12 Describe the purpose of the organization			

ATTACHMENT 5
Page 1 of 2

			<u> </u>	
Part IV	List of All Related Entit	ties (see instructions)		
13 Check if the	organization has no related e	ntities		
14a Name of	related entity	14b Relationship	14c Address	
PAC for a Democratic House - Federal Account Federal Account		Federal Account	607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800	
			Washington, DC 20005	
	List of All Officers, Dire		npensated Employees (see instructions)	
15a Name		15b Title	15c Address	
Karen Hancox		Treasurer	607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800	
			Washington, DC 20005	
	•			
 	Internal Revenue Code, and that I	have examined this notice, include	Part I is to be treated as a tax-exempt organization described in section 5 ding accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my kin the official authorized to sign this report, and I am signing by entering	nowledge
ľ	Karen Hancox		11/04/2002	
Ciam				
Sign   Here	Name of authorized official		Date	

Form **8872** (November 2002)

## Political Organization Report of Contributions and Expenditures

OMB No. 1545-1696

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

► See separate instructions.

A For the period beginning: 01/01/2003	and ending: 06/30/2003
B Check applicable box: ∠ Initial report	Change of address Amended report Final report
1 Name of organization: PAC for a Democratic Ho	use - Nonfederal Account Employer identification number: 11 - 3660818
2 Mailing address (P.O. box or number, street, and 607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800	l room or suite number)
City or town, state, and ZIP code Washington, DC 20005	
3 E-mail address of organization: no@email	4 Date organization was formed: 11/04/2002
5a Name of custodian of records  Moses C. Mercado	5a Custodian's address 607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800 Washington, DC 20005
6a Name of contact person  Moses C. Mercado	6b Contact person's address 607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800 Washington, DC 20005
7 Business address of organization (if different fro 607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800	om mailing address shown above). Number, street, and room or suite number
City or town, state, and ZIP code Washington, DC 20005	
8 Type of report (check only one box)  — First quarterly report (due by April 15)  — Second quarterly report (due by July 15)  — Third quarterly report (due by October 15)  — Year-end report (due by January 31)  ✓ Mid-year report (Non-election year only-due by July 31)	Monthly report for the month of: (due by the 20th day following the month shown above, except the December report, which is due by January 31)  Pre-election report (due by the 12th or 15th day before the election) (1) Type of election: (2) Date of election: (3) For the state of:  Post-general election report (due by the 30th day after general election) (1) Date of election: (2) For the state of:
-	Il attached Schedules A)
Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I ha and belief, it is true, correct, and complete.	ve examined this report, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge
Sign Here Moses C. Mercado Signature of authorized official	07/30/2003  Date

Form **8871** (Rev. July 2003)

# Political Organization Notice of Section 527 Status

OMB No. 1545-1693

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

Development and promotion of important issues of public policy.

General informa	311011		
1 Name of organization			Employer identification number
Democratic Issues Agenda	•		11 - 3660814
2 Mailing address (P.O. box or no	umber, street, and	room or suite number)	
607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800			
City or town, state, and ZIP code			
Washington, DC 20005			
3 Check applicable box:	Initial notice	Amended notice	Final notice
4a Date established		4b Date of mat	erial change
5 E-mail address of organization			
no@email			
6a Name of custodian of records	)	Custodian's ad	ldress
Diane Evans		607 14th Street	, N.W. Suite 800
		Washington, DC	2 20005
7a Name of contact person		Contact person	n's address
Diane Evans			, N.W. Suite 800
		Washington, DC	20005
8 Business address of organizat	ion (if different fror	m mailing address show	n above). Number, street, and room or suite number
607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800			
City or town, state, and ZIP code			
Washington, DC 20005	•		
9a Election authority		9b Election au	thority identification number
NONE			•
Part II Notification of	Claim of Exem	ption From Filing	Certain Forms (see instructions)
			Organization Report of Contributions and Expenditures, as a qualified
state or local political organization			
10b If 'Yes,' list the state where th	e organization files	s reports:	
11 Is this organization claiming	exemption from fili	ng Form 990 (or 990-EZ	), Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax, as a caucus or
associations of state or local offic		-	
Part III Purpose			
12 Describe the purpose of the or	ganization		

4a Name of rel	ited entity	14b Relationship	14c Address	
Part V Lis	t of All Officers,	Directors, and Highly 15b Title	Compensated Employees (see instructions)  15c Address	
Diane Evans		Treasurer	607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800	
Inte	nal Revenue Code, and t belief, it is true, correct, a	hat I have examined this notice,	d in Part I is to be treated as a tax-exempt organization described in section including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of mat I am the official authorized to sign this report, and I am signing by entering the second of the content of the second of the content of the	y knowled

Form **8871** (Rev. July 2003)

# Political Organization Notice of Section 527 Status

OMB No. 1545-1693

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service	•
Part I General Information	
1 Name of organization	Employer identification number
Empowerment for the New Century	02 - 0648668
2 Mailing address (P.O. box or number, street, a	nd room or suite number)
607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800	
City or town, state, and ZIP code	
Washington, DC 20005	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
3 Check applicable box:Initial notice	Amended notice Final notice
4a Date established	4b Date of material change
5 E-mail address of organization	
no@email	
6a Name of custodian of records	Custodian's address
Antonio L. Harrison	607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800
	Washington, DC 20005
7a Name of contact person	Contact person's address
Antonio L. Harrison	607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800
<u> </u>	Washington, DC 20005
8 Business address of organization (if different 607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800	from mailing address shown above). Number, street, and room or suite number
City or town, state, and ZIP code	
Washington, DC 20005	
9a Election authority	9b Election authority identification number
NONE	
Part II Notification of Claim of Ev	emption From Filing Certain Forms (see instructions)
	r filing Form 8872, Political Organization Report of Contributions and Expenditures, as a qualified
state or local political organization? Yes No	
10b If 'Yes,' list the state where the organization	files reports:
11 Is this organization claiming exemption from	i filing Form 990 (or 990-EZ), Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax, as a caucus or
associations of state or local officials? Yes No	<b>,</b>
·	
Post III Purposo	

12 Describe the purpose of the organization

.To encourage participation in the political process.

,		
Part IV List of All Rela	nted Entities (see instructions	3)
		•
13 Check if the organization has r	no related entities	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
14a Name of related entity	14b Relationship	14c Address
Part V List of All Office		Compensated Employees (see instructions)
15a Name	15b Title	15c Address
Antonio L. Harrison	Treasurer	607 14th Street, N.W. Suite 800
·		Washington, DC 20005
		d in Part I is to be treated as a tax-exempt organization described in section 527 of the including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge
		at I am the official authorized to sign this report, and I am signing by entering my name
below. Antonio L. Harris	son	11/05/2002
Antonio E. Hams	5011	11/03/2002
Sign Name of autho		
Name of autho	rized official	Date
Here		



# Democracy 21 Fax

1825 I Street, NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20006 phone 202.429.2008 fax 202.293.2660

To: Alva Smith
Fax #: 219 3923

From: Fred Wer themer

Remarks:

I am endosing a copy of

Exhibit E in reference to

MUR 5338.

If you reed any forther information,

plane let me know.

Thanks,

Tred Wertherner

ATTACHMENT 9
Page 1 of 4

### Revamped DeLay PAC May Fund STOMP

By Susan Crabtres

Political operatives close to House Majority Whip Tom DeLay (R-Texas) are eyeing his former soft money leadership PAC as a war these for future GOP ground wars.

For the first time in modern political history Republicans are proud of their get-out-the-vote efforts, which GOP observes argue gave them the edge in dozens of compensive House contents lan

The national Republican Party committees spent imilious on the effort, which included a timous program spearheaded by DeLay that vanspored some 8,000 vectomers, to tight races across to country.

Continued on page 26



File Phote by I on Williams
GOP Lender Tom DeLoy needs
new funding source for STOMP.

Roll Call. November 14. 2002.

9- 330 2007

RECEIVE FEDERAL ELE COMMISSIO OFFICE OF GEN COUNSE

### Republicans Seek New Funding for DeLay's STOM FEET OF THE SEED OF

Continued from page !

Under new campaign fasance laws, however, the parties and lawnakers campot solicits, collect or speed soft money. That means Delay must find a new underwiter for his grassroots program — otherwise known at the Spangje Task Force to Mobilize People, or STOMP — which was run on of the National Republican Congressional Committee.

"Everything we did with STOMP, all the finding that we used for that is not going to be there for the pert time" said Ion Elils. who had directed both the soft and hard money sides in Tool say's leadership PAC. Americans for a Republican Majoday, or ARMPAC. The franches the change going to have to change even though the commissment to the program even though the commissment to the program.

I wall be swong. The NRCE was the able ind it that way, but I'm considers that it will still be in effect."

Delay, who will only increase his power and samure when he officially becomes Majority Leader in January, man walk a fine line at he reorganizes his extensive money operation to meet the new requirements. The new law forced the combanive Texas to spin off and distance biascelf from the soft-money side of ANMPAC

Numerous high-profile lawysalems on both sides of the side, such as Sensus Minority Leader Treat Lott (R-Miss.) and Speaker Deanis Hastert (R-M.), have shut down their seft-money operations, but in the past DeLay has rootinely found new ways to legally channel cash moder the radar screen.

As of Nov. 6 when the new law took effect, Tony Rudy, a fainnes top Del.ay aids who now works at the Alexander Strangy Group, took control of the organization and plans to keep the ARMPAC pame, which has been symcommons with DeLay's money operation for

Rady, who was DeLay's deputy chief of staff before leaving for the private action nearly two years ago, said his former boss will not solicit or mise money for the group, although the Federal Election Commission is still uying to figure out whether Inwanakers can altend self-money PAC Andraisers or have their names printed on fundraising invitations for such ovents.

"We need to get to gether with our lawyers and denide how best to proceed." Rudy said. "We seed to be perfectly clear that we following the letter of the law, and right now there are a lot of open-ended questions about how we're going to proceed."

The soft-money version of ARMPAC can legally find generic Republican direct-mail campaigns, phone banks and voter registration if it is not directly linked to Delay.

Fred Wertheiner, president of the watchdog group Democracy 21, will be watching the translate closely, instead of simply transtering official control to a former aide, Wertheiner believes the soft-money side of all leadership PACs should be start down compolerly.

"All frese soft money commines should have been shut down by Nov. 6." he said flatly, noting that two Democratic presidential
hopefuls, Sem. John Edwards (N.C.) and
John Kenry (Mass.), sid so before the new law
took effect. "Obviously there are some people in Washington so addicted to these corrupting funds that they are testing whether
they can blassady and brazenly legally challenge the [reform] efforts."

Still, other advocates for the new exception

ance the FEC finisher writing in regulations

"Some of the answers are going to depend on what the FEC does, and they've been sending signals that they are going to be fairly lement when it comes to defining what coastitutes solicitation and coordination by law-makers," said larry Noble, the Federal Electron Commission; i former general counsel two Commission; is former general counsel who now health the Camera for Responsive who now health the Camera and the connection between faderal officeabolders and soft areany — whatever thin shield they put up, you still have an weight whether [law-makers] are coarrolling soft money and using it in elembors."

Ellis, who has two DeLay's money operations for years, has stepped down as the encountry director of the soft-money arm of the PAC and now oversest just the hard-stoney side of AJOMPAC. His new goal is to increase the influence and power DeLay has exercised by soficiting hundreds of shousands of dollars from corporations and then directing them to dozens of his colleagues and GOP challengest through the soft money arm.

Now that the soft-money side of ARNOPAC is technically separate from DeLay, Ellis believe it could be a great vehicle for STOMP money as well as other GOP-threndly auroout efforts.

"My understanding is that these \$27 organizations can do everything they can mokey as long as federal officebolders do not raise or solicit money," he said.

MARMPAC channels its money to STUMP activities under Rudy's direction, the organizations would committee the role it played in previous election cycles. Late in the last compression of the last com-

paign, the softmoney side of ARMPAC doled out \$78,000 to the NRCC \$50,000 to the Republican Governors Association and \$50,000 to Texas Victory 2007. In sum of the Texas Republican Party established to increase volcer registration and turpout, chaired by Rep. Henry Bosilla (R-Texas).

Ellis also said that the bard-money side of ARMPAC would change its name to reflect Delay's ascension to the Majority Leader position he will assume in January.

"You can't have two separate custies running around with the same same," he said.

But Ellis stressed that he and Delay decided to change themants after consulting with election law experts who recommended doing so even though the new law did not require it explicitly.

The drive to increase hard money dollars is

The drive to increase hard money dollars is so griss in the wake of the new law that Ellis is encouraging more and more inwanters to open up hard-money leadership PACs.

"The more the better," he said. "Hard more cy is going to be long under the new law and so everyone is going to have to help sales jd."

DeLay was also funced to distance himself from his newest \$27 organization, Texase for a Republican Majority, or TRMPAC, which he started in law 2001 to help clear Republicans to office in Texas. Pilis said DeLay has respend from the board, which includes muse Son. Force: Shapper (R) and state Rep. Diame White Delin (R). Former Radroad Commissioner Tony Garra was also a board member and he supported down when President Bush appointed him to be ambassastor of Mexico.

Late in the 2002 carapaign, TRMPAC commbused \$190,000 to the Republican National al Committee's soft money account and \$448,000 to state-level candidates in Texas.

ATTACHMENT 9
Page 2 of 4

Exhibit E

#### Roll Call

#### November 14, 2002 Thursday

HEADLINE: Revamped DeLay PAC May Fund STOMP

BYLINE: By Susan Crabtree

Political operatives close to House Majority Whip Tom DeLay (R-Texas) are eyeing his former soft money leadership PAC as a war chest for future GOPground wars.

For the first time in modern political history Republicans are proud of their get-out-the-vote efforts, which GOP observers argue gave them the edge in dozens of competitive House contests last week.

The national Republican Party committees spent millions on the effort, which included a turnout program spearheaded by DeLay that transported some 8,000 volunteers to tight races across the country, among other activities.

Under new campaign finance laws, however, the parties and lawmakers cannot solicit, collect or spend soft money. That means DeLay must find a new underwriter for his grassroots program - otherwise known as the Strategic Task Force to Mobilize People, or STOMP - which was run out of the National Republican Congressional Committee.

"Everything we did with STOMP, all the funding that we used for that, is not going to be there for the next time,"said Jim Ellis, who had directed both the soft and hard money sides of DeLay's leadership PAC, Americans for a Republican Majority, or ARMPAC. "The funding mechanism is going to have to change even though the commitment to the program will still be strong. The NRCC won't be able to fund it that way, but I'm confident that it will still be in effect."

DeLay, who will only increase his power and stature when he officially becomes Majority Leader in January, must walk a fine line as he reorganizes his extensive money operation to meet the new requirements. The new law forced the combative Texan to spin off and distance himself from the soft-money side of ARMPAC.

Numerous high-profile lawmakers on both sides of the aisle, such as Senate Minority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) and Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-III.), have shut down their soft-money operations, but in the past DeLay has routinely found new ways to legally channel cash under the radar screen.

As of Nov. 6 when the new law took effect, Tony Rudy, a former top DeLay aide who now works at the Alexander Strategy Group, took control of the organization and plans to keep the ARMPAC name, which has been synonymous with DeLay's money operation for years.

Rudy, who was DeLay's deputy chief of staff before leaving for the private sector nearly two years ago, said his former boss will not solicit or raise money for the group, although the Federal Election Commission is still trying to figure out whether lawmakers can attend soft-money PAC fundraisers or have their names printed on fundraising invitations for such events.

"We need to get together with our lawyers and decide how best to proceed," Rudy said. "We need to be perfectly clear that we're following the letter of the law, and right now there are a lot of open-ended questions about how we're going to proceed."

The soft-money version of ARMPAC can legally fund generic Republican direct-mail campaigns, phone banks and voter registration if it is not directly linked to DeLay.

Fred Wertheimer, president of the watchdog group Democracy 21, will be watching the transition closely. Instead of simply transferring official control to a former aide, Wertheimer believes the soft-money side of all leadership PACs should be shut down completely.

"All these soft money committees should have been shut down by Nov. 6," he said flatly, noting that two Democratic presidential hopefuls, Sens. John Edwards (N.C.) and John Kerry (Mass.), did so before the new law took effect. "Obviously there are some people in Washington so addicted to these corrupting funds that they are testing whether they can blatantly and brazenly legally challenge the [reform] efforts."

Still, other advocates for the new campaign finance law fear there will be few clear lines once the FEC finishes writing its regulations.

"Some of the answers are going to depend on what the FEC does, and they've been sending signals that they are going to be fairly lenient when it comes to defining what constitutes solicitation and coordination by lawmakers," said Larry Noble, the Federal Election Commission's former general counsel who now heads the Center for Responsive Politics. "The [new law] was intended to break the connection between federal officeholders and soft money ... whatever thin shield they put up, you still have to weigh whether [lawmakers] are controlling soft money and using it in elections."

Ellis, who has run DeLay's money operations for years, has stepped down as the executive director of the softmoney arm of the PAC and now oversees just the hard-money side of ARMPAC. His new goal is to increase the number of smaller donors while retaining the influence and power DeLay has exercised by soliciting hundreds of thousands of dollars from corporations and then directing them to dozens of his colleagues and GOPchallengers through the soft money arm.

Now that the soft-money side of ARMPAC is technically separate from DeLay, Ellis believes it could be a great vehicle for STOMP money as well as other GOP-friendly turnout efforts.

"My understanding is that these 527 organizations can do everything they can today as long as federal officeholders do not raise or solicit money," he said.

If ARMPAC channels its money to STOMP activities under Rudy's direction, the organizations would continue the role it played in previous election cycles. Late in the last campaign, the soft money side of ARMPAC doled out \$78,000 to the NRCC, \$50,000 to the Republican Governors Association and \$50,000 to Texas Victory 2002, an arm of the Texas Republican Party established to increase voter registration and turnout, chaired by Rep. Henry Bonilla (R-Texas).

Ellis also said that the hard-money side of ARMPAC would change its name to reflect DeLay's ascension to the Majority Leader position he will assume in January.

"You can't have two separate entities running around with the same name,"he said.

But Ellis stressed that he and DeLay decided to change the name after consulting with election law experts who recommended doing so even though the new law did not require it explicitly.

The drive to increase hard money dollars is so great in the wake of the new law that Ellis is encouraging more and more lawmakers to open up hard-money leadership PACs.

"The more the better," he said. "Hard money is going to be king under the new law and so everyone is going to have to help raise it."

DeLay was also forced to distance himself from his newest 527 organization, Texans for a Republican Majority, or TRMPAC, which he started in late 2001 to help elect Republicans to office in Texas. Ellis said DeLay has resigned from the board, which includes state Sen. Florence Shapiro (R) and state Rep. Dianne White Delisi (R). Former Railroad Commissioner Tony Garza was also a board member until he stepped down when President Bush appointed him to be ambassador of Mexico.

Late in the 2002 campaign, TRMPAC contributed \$190,000 to the Republican National Committee's soft money account and \$448,000 to state-level candidates in Texas.

Form 8871

# Political Organization Notice of Section 527 Status

OMB No. 1545-169

General Information Anner drogstation History of Nove, state, and zero code Washington, DC 20036  Furnal actions of organization brothordigilo@wrms-plen.com  Nerre of outsodan of records Barbers W. Bonfiglio Business activess of organization (if different from mailing address shown above). Humber, street, and room or suite number  City or town, state, and ZiP code  ###################################	True General Infor					
Americans For A Republican Rejority Non-Federal Account Making address (7.0). Exer or running, street, and room or suite number)  1158 21st Street, NW, Suite 300 City or town, state, and 20° code Westington, DC 20036 E-mail actives of organization Name of outsocian of recode  1155 21st Street, NW, Suite 300 Westington, DC 20036 Barbara W, Bonfiglio  Series actives of organization of different from malling address shown above), Number, street, and room or suite number  City or town, state, and 20° code  1157 21st Street, NW, Suite 300 Westington, DC 20036  Name of context person  Series Series  City or town, state, and 20° code  1157 21st Street, NW, Suite 300 Westington, DC 20036  Number of related analy  Series address of organization (fidthwent from malling address shown above), Number, street, and room or suite number  City or town, state, and 20° code  1159 21st Street, NW, Suite 300  Westington, DC 20036  IIII List of All Related Entities (see instructions) Name of related entity  Series Resonant  Federal Account  Federal Account  Federal Account  Pederal Account  Appearance Resonant  Actives  1155 21st Street, NW, Suite 300  Weshington, DC 20036  ATTACKIMENT  ATTACKIMENT  ATTACKIMENT  ATTACKIMENT		<b>mation</b>			Employee IdealModles number	
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Part IV List of All Officers, D	irectors, and Highly Co	propensated Employees (see instructions)  9c Address
		1155 21st Street, NW, Suite 300
Berbara W. Bonfiglio	Treasurer	Washington, DC 20036
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Form **8871** (Rev. July 2003)

# Political Organization Notice of Section 527 Status

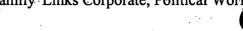
OMB No. 1545-1693

Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service

Part I General Inform	nation			
1 Name of organization			Employer identification number	
ARMPAC Non-Federal Account			52 - 1948472	·
2 Mailing address (P.O. box or I	number, street, and roor	m or suite number	)	
1155 21st Street, NW, Suite 300				
City or town, state, and ZIP code	•	······································		
Washington, DC -				
3 Check applicable box:	Initial notice A	mended notice	Final notice	
4a Date established		4b Date of ma	aterial change	
5 E-mail address of organizatio	n			
bwbonfiglio@wms-jen.com	:			
6a Name of custodian of record	ls ·	Custodian's	address	
Barbara W. Bonfiglio	F <sub>r.</sub>		•	
7a Name of contact person Barbara W. Bonfiglio		Contact pers	on's address	
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City or town, state, and ZIP code	•	•		
9a Election authority		9b Election a	uthority identification number	
NONE				
Part II Notification of	Claim of Exempti	on From Filing	g Certain Forms (see instructions)	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
10a Is this organization claiming state or local political organization 10b If 'Yes,' list the state where t	on? Yes No		al Organization Report of Contributions and	Expenditures, as a qualified
I1 Is this organization claiming	exemption from filing i	Form 990 (or 990-E	Z), Return of Organization Exempt from Inc	ome Tax, as a caucus or
associations of state or local offi	cials? Yes No			
Part III Purpose				
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Page 2 of 2



washingtonpost.com

#### 'Extended Family' Links Corporate, Political Worlds

Tuesday, July 22, 2003; Page A02

Several lawmakers have former staffers in high-powered lobbying jobs, but none can compete with House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Tex.), who relies on a cadre of loyalists in the corporate community to further his political goals.

With clients that include telecom giants, energy companies and pharmaceutical firms, these former employees are well-positioned not only to push their employers' agendas but also to stoke DeLay's political fundraising machine.

"We will always encourage our clients to help Tom DeLay," said Ed Buckham, DeLay's chief of staff during the early and mid-1990s. "We're a large, extended family across the country."

Buckham and a former DeLay deputy chief of staff, Tony Rudy, represent AT&T, Eli Lilly and other firms that have given generously to campaign committees associated with DeLay. Rudy -- who chairs the non-federal arm of Americans for a Republican Majority -- said his former boss taught him and others to work together to preserve a GOP congressional majority. "He instilled in us a sense of teamwork," Rudy said.

Drew Maloney, another former aide-turned-lobbyist, urged two of his clients -- the energy companies El Paso Corp. and Reliant Energy -- to donate to DeLay's political groups. They gave a combined total of \$176,000 between 2000 and 2002. "They understand the importance of growing the [House Republican] majority," Maloney said, "so you don't have to do a rabbit-out-of-the-hat pitch."

-- Juliet Eilperin

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#### Roll Call May 5, 2003 Monday

#### Roll Call

#### May 5, 2003 Monday

**HEADLINE: Campaign Funds Flow to Relatives** BYLINE: By John Bresnahan Roll Call Staff

For House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Texas), politics is now a family business.

DeLay has both his wife and daughter on the payroll of political organizations he controls or is affiliated with, and the two women have raked in nearly \$350,000 in just under three years from those groups.

Most of the money has gone to Danielle DeLay Ferro, the only daughter of the Majority Leader, who serves as his campaign manager.

DeLay, though, is far from the only lawmaker to hire relatives through his campaign or other fundraising organizations.

Other lawmakers with family on their campaign payrolls include Reps. Richard Pombo (R-Calif.), Howard Berman (D-Calif.), Major Owens (D-N.Y.), Bart Stupak (D-Mich.), Hal Rogers (R-Ky.), James Clyburn (D-S.C.), Henry Bonilla (R-Texas), Barbara Cubin (R-Wyo.), Jim Turner (D-Texas), Nick Rahall (D-W.Va.), Scott McInnis (R-Colo.), Pete Stark (D-Calif.) and Jim Walsh (R-N.Y.).

Campaign watchdog groups note that while such actions are legal, Members must demonstrate that hiring a relative for a campaign position is not simply a way to transfer political donations to personal use, which is illegal. The family member also cannot be paid more than fair market value.

"Since there is this prohibition on the personal use of campaign funds, the first question is whether the person has the requisite skills" to actually justify being hired by a campaign, said Larry Noble, executive director and general counsel of the Center for Responsive Politics. "The problem is that it doesn't look good. It has to be carefully watched."

DeLay's political operation, in particular, has generated large fees for his daughter.

During the 2001-02 election cycle, Ferro, though her consulting company, Coastal Consulting, was paid more than \$113,000 by DeLay's re-election campaign. She received an additional \$5,000 from the DeLay campaign for "contract

Americans for a Republican Majority, DeLay's leadership PAC, is another client of Coastal Consulting, Coastal was paid \$22,088 by ARMPAC last cycle.

Ferro herself received an additional \$34,479 in her own name directly from ARMPAC. That money was also listed as "fundraising fees."

Texans for a Republican Majority, another DeLay-affiliated organization, paid Ferro and Coastal Consulting a total of \$30,893 during the last six months of 2002. TRM has been caught up in an investigation of whether it and the Texas Association of Business violated state law by pumping corporate money into Lone Star State legislative races last cycle.

Altogether, Ferro and Coastal Consulting received more than \$227,000 for her political activities during the last cycle from DeLay-controlled entities.

That comes on top of the \$60,000 Ferro was paid in the final half of 2000 by ARMPAC and the Republican Majority Issues Committee, another DeLay-linked organization

So far this year, Ferro has received \$18,876 from the Tom DeLay Congressional Committee and ARMPAC.

Stuart Roy, Delay's spokesman, defended the payments as commensurate with the political acumen that Ferro has displayed.

"With Dani as campaign manager, Tom successfully boosted his re-election margin to 63 percent last year," said Roy. "And with her skill in running events for ARMPAC, the organization had its strongest fundraising year ever. With that type of success, she comes as a bargain to the organization."

In recent years, Christine DeLay, the wife of the Majority Leader, has been paid a salary as "CEO" of ARMPAC through the Alexander Strategy Group, a lobbying firm set up by former DeLay Chief of Staff Ed Buckham. That firm's clients include AT&T, drug manufacturer Eli Lilly and the Nuclear Energy Institute.

But the DeLays insist the payments going to Christine DeLay, roughly \$40,000 per year, are not for lobbying work.

Starting last June, however, ARMPAC began to pay Christine DeLay directly. She was paid \$27,398 from ARMPAC in the period covering June to December. She has also received an additional \$15,688 this year through March.

Christine DeLay no longer receives any money from Alexander Strategy Group, according to DeLay's office.

"For obvious reasons, Christine, in her role at ARMPAC, has final signoff of Tom's travel schedule, what events he attends and what his name appears on, among other duties," said Roy.

"As much as Tom appreciates those who work for him in his political organization, there is no one he trusts more than Christine to ensure his name is protected and his time is spent wisely."

Pombo, the new chairman of the House Resources Committee, has also paid out large sums to a family member.

Randall Pombo, the longtime campaign manager for his brother, earned more than \$149,000 last cycle to help the California Republican win a sixth term in the House. Randall Pombo has received another \$21,600 so far this year. Running his brother's campaign is the only source of income for Randall Pombo.

Rep. Pombo did not return calls seeking comment.

Berman, the former vice chairman of the House ethics committee, paid \$75,000 to Berman & D'Agostino, a political consulting and direct-mail firm co-owned by Michael Berman, the lawmaker's politically well-connected brother.

"If you could find me somebody who is more skilled at political campaigns and political advice than he is, I'd be happy to hire them because they'd probably be cheaper," joked Berman, who pointed out that his brother has been a political consultant since 1980.

"This is not one of those situations where you create a [job] to get a relative money," Berman added. "The guy who happens to be the best happens to be my brother and his partners."

Berman, however, noted that his colleagues have to be careful about their "intent and motivation" when hiring relatives, who are banned from working for a Member's personal office under House rules.

"If the reason that you're hiring that person was a way of getting money to your family, as opposed to that's the most sensible decision based on background and training ... it raises questions about personal uses of political funds," said Berman.

Freshman GOP Rep. Tom Cole (Okla.) had a unique experience during the last campaign, his first run for the House. He handed out nearly \$75,000 to the consulting firm Cole, Hargrave, Snodgrass & Associates, which he was a name partner in until his election to Congress.

John Woods, Cole's campaign manager, called Cole, Hargrave the "premier consulting firm" in the Sooner State. Woods said the Congressman "made no profits" from the company's work on behalf of his own campaign.

Some Senators also pay family members with their campaign funds.

Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.) funneled \$115,000 last cycle to Douglas Boxer & Associates, a company run by her son, from PAC For A Change, her leadership political action committee.

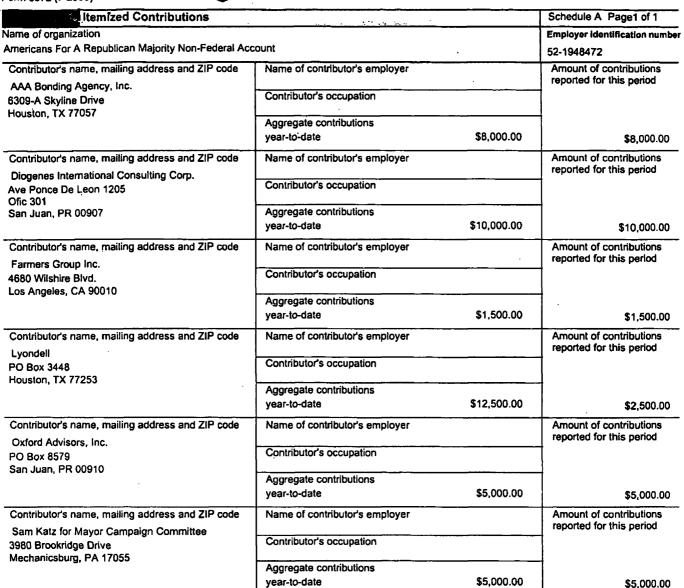
Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-Colo.) paid his wife and sister-in-law a total of more than \$14,000 last cycle for campaign work, according to a report in the Denver Post, although the Colorado Republican isn't scheduled to face the voters until next year.

(July 2000) Department of the Treasurey

### Political Organization Report of Contributions and Expenditures

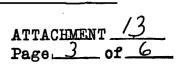
OMB No. 1545-1696

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B Check applicable boxes: Initial report	Change of address Amended repo	ortI	Final report
Name of organization     Americans For A Republican Majority Non-Fed	deral Account	Employer Ide 52-1948472	ntification number
2 Mailing address (P.O. Box or number, street, a 1155 21st Street, NW Suite 300	and room or suite number)	·	
City or town, state, and ZIP code Washington, DC 20036			
3 E-mail address of organization bwbonfiglio@wms-jen.com		4 Date organ 11/01/1995	ization was formed
5a Name of custodian of records	5b Custodian's address		
Barbara W. Bonfiglio	1155 21st Street, NW Suite 300		
-	Washington, DC 20036		
6a Name of contact person	6b Custodian's address		
Barbara W. Bonfiglio	1155 21st Street, NW Suite 300		
	Washington, DC 20036		
City or town, state, and ZIP code	from mailing address shown above). Number, street,	85	
8 Type of report(check only one box)	f Monthly report for the month of	f:	OGDEN, UT
a First quarterly report (due by April 15)	(due by the 20th day following the December report, which is		
b Second quarterly report (due by July 15)	g Pre-election report (due by 12	th or 15th day bet	fore the election)
c Third quarterly report (due by October 15	-		
d XYear-end report (due by January 31)	(2) Date of election: (3) For the state of:		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
e Mid-year report (Non-election year only-due by July)	h Post-general election report (d  (1) Date of election:  (2) For the state of:	ue by the 30th da	y after general election)
9 Total amount of reported contributions (total fr	om all attached <b>Schedules </b>	9	\$32,000.00
10 Total amount of reported expenditures (total fr	rom all attached Schedules B	10	\$109,197.51
Sign Under remaities of periody, I declare that I have and belief, it is to be carried, and complete.  Here	examined this report/including accompanying schedules an		the best of my knowledge
/ Signature of authorized official	Date		
For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see serpa	rate instructions. Cat. No. 30406G		Form 8872 (7-2000)

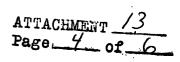


ATTACHMENT /3
Page 2 of 6

Itemiżed Expenditures	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Schedule A Page1 of 4
ame of organization mencans For A Republican Majority Non-Federal Ar	Employer Identification number 52-1948472	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Aetna U.S. Healthcare Inc. 151 Farmington Avenue	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period
Hartford, CT 06156	Recipient's occupation	
		\$2,831.85
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Alexander Strategy Group 1300 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Sulte 700 Washington, DC 20004	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period
	Recipient's occupation	\$8,400.00
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period
300 Pennsylvania Ave., NW Suite 700 Vashington, DC 20004	Reciplent's occupation	
		\$2,275.85
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Alexander Strategy Group 1300 Pennsylvania Ave., NW	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period
Suite 700 Washington, DC 20004	Recipient's occupation	\$5,007.06
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions
Recipient's name, mailing address and 21P code Alexander Strategy Group I 300 Pennsylvania Ave., NW	Name of reapents employes	reported for this period
Suite 700 Washington, DC 20004	Recipient's occupation	\$8,400.00
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions
American Express		reported for this period
Newark, NJ 07101	Recipient's occupation	
		\$10,228.34
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Capitol Hill Club 300 First Street, SE	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period
Washington, DC 20515	Recipient's occupation	\$1,363.54
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions
Champions Gate Golf Resort 1400 Masters Blvd.	Name of response simpleyer	reported for this period
Champions Gate, FL 33896	Recipient's occupation	60 254 76
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	\$2,351.76 Amount of contributions
Christopher L. Perkins	Hame of recipients employer	reported for this period
22 Kelliwood Courts Circle Katy, TX 77450	Recipient's occupation	
	Fundraiser	\$5,000.00



Itemized Expenditures		Schedule A Page2 of 4
ame of organization mericans For A Republican Majority Non-Federal Ad	ccount	Employer identification number 52-1948472
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Christopher L. Perkins	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period
Christopher L. Perkins 22 Kelliwood Courts Circle	Recipient's occupation	<b>1</b>
Caty, TX 77450		
	Fundraiser -	\$681.59
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions
Danielle K. Ferro		reported for this period
606 Brookstone Lane Sugar Land, TX 77479	Recipient's occupation	
		\$83.24
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Danielle K. Ferro	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period
1606 Brookstone Lane Sugar Land, TX 77479	Recipient's occupation	
		\$5,000.00
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code  Jack Victory	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period
rack victory	Recipient's occupation	1
		\$1,341.74
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period
James W. Ellis 6430 22nd Street N Arlington, VA 22205	Recipient's occupation	
·	·	\$2,002.86
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period
Jim Terry 134 Roberts Lane	ARMPAC	_
#302 Alexandria, VA 22314	Recipient's occupation	
Alexandra, VA 22014	Fundraiser	\$2,833.00
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period
lim Terry 134 Roberts Lane	ARMPAC	
¥302 Alexandria, VA 22314	Recipient's occupation	· ·
nickanulia, VA 22314	Fundraiser	\$2,833.00
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code  Jonathan Baron	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period
6421 Ridge Drive	Recipient's occupation	
Bethesda, MD 20816	Fundraiser	\$3,500.00
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions
Lagana Printing 513 G Street NE		reported for this period
Washington, DC 20002	Recipient's occupation	7
		\$1,163.00



Utemized Expenditures		Schedule A Page3 of 4	
ame of organization mericans For A Republican Majority Non-Federal A	ccount	Employer identification num	
		52-1948472	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period	
.lmb Design I402 Caywood Lane		' '	
Houston, TX 77055	Recipient's occupation		
	i	20 500 00	
710		\$2,593.00	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period	
MCI Worldcom Conferencing PO Box 70129	,	Topones in any panes	
Chicago, IL 60673	Recipient's occupation	7	
-			
		\$2,271.62	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period	
Michael D. Murphy		- reported for this period	
I862 S. 28th Street Apt. C-2	Reciplent's occupation		
Arlington, VA 22206	Fundraiser		
		\$5,000.00	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions	
Occasions Caterers		reported for this period	
310 Pennsylvania Avenue SE			
Washington, DC 20003	Recipient's occupation		
		\$3,842.30	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions	
Scott Park		reported for this period	
VA	Recipient's occupation		
	<u>'</u>		
	·	\$1,360.00	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions	
Stuart Roy		reported for this period	
•	Recipient's occupation	7	
		\$1,055.09	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions	
SunTrust Bank		reported for this period	
PO Box 85024		_	
Richmond, VA 23285	Recipient's occupation		
	·	\$77.18	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions	
SunTrust BankCard, N.A.	Taine or recipient a ampleyer	reported for this period	
PO Box 628220			
Orlando, FL 32862	Recipient's occupation		
		\$243.28	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Nome of resisionals amples	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	
•	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period	
WMR Consulting, Inc. 10099 Statesman Court			
Frederick, MD 21701	Recipient's occupation		
		\$1,000.00	
	. Enter here and also include this amount in the total on line	\$17,442.47	

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Itemized Expenditures	Schedule A Page4 of 4	
lame of organization	Employer identification number	
Americans For A Republican Majority Non-Federal A	52-1948472	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Warren M. Robold Jr.	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions reported for this period
10099 Statesman Court Frederick, MD 21701	Recipient's occupation	
		\$3,458.21
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions
Warren M. Robold Jr.		reported for this period
10099 Statesman Court Frederick, MD 21701	Recipient's occupation	,
	·	\$20,000.00
Reciplent's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of contributions
Warren M. Robold Jr.		reported for this period
10099 Statesman Court Frederick, MD 21701	Recipient's occupation	
		\$3,000.00

Subtotal of contributions reported on this page only. Enter here and also include this amount in the total on line 9 of Form 8872

\$109,197.51

SCANNED AUG 11 2003

(November 2002) Department of the Treasurey Internal Revenue Service

### Political Organization Report of Contributions and Expenditures

OMB No 1545-1698

				and				
A For	the period beginning	01/01/03			ending (	06/30/03		
B Ch	ack applicable boxes	Initial report	Chang	e of address	Amended	report	Final report	
	ame of organization mericans For A Republican Majority Non-Federal Account			1	Employer Identification number 52-1948472			
	ling address (P O Box of 5 21st Street, NW Suite		d room or su	te number)				
•	r or town, state, and ZIP shington, DC 20036	code						
	nail address of organizationfliglio@wma-jen.com	tion	_			4 Date 11/01/1	organization was for 995	med
5a No	arme of custodian of reco	ords	5b	Custodian's add	iress		_	
Be	nrbara W Bonfiglio			1155 21st Stree	t, NW Suite 300			
				Washington, DC	20036			
6a Nr	ime of contact person		6b	Contact person	'a address			
	rbara W Bonfiglio			1155 21st Stree				
			-	Washington, DC				
City	or town, state, and ZIP	code						<u> </u>
· ·	e of report(check only o	ne box)		(due by th		ang the month	shown above, except	
8 Typ	e of report(check only a	ne box) due by April 15)		(due by the	e 20th day follow nber report, whic	ing the month h is due by Jar	nuary 31)	
8 Typ	e of report(check only o	one box) due by April 15) ort (due by July 15)		(due by the the December   Pre-election	e 20th day follow nber report, whic	ing the month h is due by Jar		
8 Typ	e of report(check only of First quarterly report (of Second quarterly report (of Third quarterly report (	one box) due by April 15) ort (due by July 15) (due by October 15)		(due by the the December   Pre-election	e 20th day follow nber report, which on report (due by of election	ing the month h is due by Jar	nuary 31)	
8 Typ	e of report(check only of First quarterly report (of Second quarterly report)	one box) due by April 15) ort (due by July 15) (due by October 15)	, ,	(due by the the December   Pre-electure (1) Type (	e 20th day follow nber report, which on report (due by of election	ing the month h is due by Jar	nuary 31)	
8 Typ	e of report(check only of First quarterly report (of Second quarterly report (of Third quarterly report (	one box) due by April 15) ort (due by July 15) (due by October 15) by January 31)		(due by the the Decent)  Pre-electron  (1) Type (2) Date (3) For the	e 20th day follow nber report, which on report (due by of election of election e state of	ring the month h is due by Jar r 12th or 15th c	nuary 31) lay before the election	1)
8 Typ	e of report(check only of First quarterly report (c) Second quarterly report (f) Third quarterly report (due to F)	one box) due by April 15) ort (due by July 15) (due by October 15) by January 31)		(due by the the Decent)  Pre-electric (1) Type (2) Date (3) For the Post-general	e 20th day follow other report, which con report (due by of election	ring the month h is due by Jar r 12th or 15th c	nuary 31)	1)
8 Typ	e of report(check only of First quarterly report (of Second quarterly report (for quarterly report (due to Mid-year report (Non-e	one box) due by April 15) ort (due by July 15) (due by October 15) by January 31)	!	(due by the the December (1) Type (2) Date (3) For the (2)	e 20th day follow other report, which con report (due by of election	ring the month h is due by Jar r 12th or 15th c	nuary 31) iay before the election  Oth day after general	alection
8 Typ a C c C d C	First quarterly report (constraints) Second quarterly report (constraints) Third quarterly report (due to the constraints) Mid-year report (Non-englar only-due by July)	one box) due by April 15) ort (due by July 15) (due by October 15) by January 31) election ontributions (total from	all attached	(due by the the December of Pre-electron (1) Type (2) Date (3) For the Post-general (1) Date (2) For the Schedules A	e 20th day follow other report, which con report (due by of election	ring the month h is due by Jar r 12th or 15th c	nuary 31) iay before the election  Oth day after general	1)
8 Typ  a C  d C  9 Tota  10 Tota	First quarterly report (constraints) Second quarterly report (constraints) Third quarterly report (due to the constraints) Mid-year report (Non-england to the constraints) I amount of reported constraints	one box) due by April 15) ort (due by July 15) (due by October 15) by January 31) election ontributions (total from	all attached	(due by the the Decent of the	e 20th day follow other report, which can report (due by of election estate of election report election estate of election election election election estate of election elec	ring the month h is due by Jar r 12th or 15th c rt (due by the 3	nuary 31) lay before the election  Oth day after general  0 \$136	\$0 00
8 Typ a C d C 9 Tota	First quarterly report (constraints) Second quarterly report (constraints) Third quarterly report (due to the constraints) Mid-year report (Non-england to the constraints) If amount of reported constraints	due by April 15)  If (due by July 15)  (due by October 15)  by January 31)  election  Intributions (total from penditures (total from pen	all attached	(due by the the December of Pre-electron (1) Type (2) Date (3) For the Post-general (1) Date (2) For the Schedules A.	e 20th day follow other report, which on report (due by of election election estate of election report election	ring the month h is due by Jar r 12th or 15th c rt (due by the 3	nuary 31) lay before the election  Oth day after general  0 \$136	\$0 00

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Itemized Expenditures ame of organization		Schedule B Page1 of 6
mencens For A Republican Majority Non-Federal A	Employer Identification numb 52-1948472	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Advocacy Technologies LLC	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$21,000 00
3000 K Street NW #125	8	
Washington DC 20007	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure 4/9/2003
Purpose of expenditure telemarketing expenses		
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$8,400 00
1300 Pennsylvania Ave , NW Suite 700 Washington, DC 20004	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure
Purpose of expenditure Alexander Strategy Group,	· <del></del>	<u> </u>
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Greg Graves 2164 Sagecrest Avenue Las Cruces, NM 88011	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$1,842 92
	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure
Purpose of expenditure		
cell phone charges		
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer ARMPAC State	Amount of expenditure \$7,167 00
134 Roberts Lane #302 Alexandria, VA 22314	Recipient's occupation Fundraiser	Date of expenditure
Purpose of expenditure	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer  ARMPAC State	Amount of expenditure
134 Roberts Lane #302 Alexandris, VA 22314	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure
Purpose of expenditure	Fundraiser	2/28/2003
Jim Terry, ARMPAC		
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer  ARMPAC State	Amount of expenditure \$7,167 00
134 Roberts Lane		
#302 Alexandria, VA 22314	Recipient's occupation Fundraiser	Date of expenditure 4/7/2003
Purpose of expenditure		
Subtatal of expenditures reported on this page only	Enter here and also include this amount in the total on line	\$52,743 92

Itemized Expenditures		Schedule B Page2 of 8
ame of organization mencans For A Republican Majority Non-Federal A	Employer identification number 52-1948472	
Recipient's name, meiling address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$1,512 62
st and Independence Avenues	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure
Vashington, DC 20004	гасрына оссервног	4/9/2003
Purpose of expenditure ecoption		
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code M-Lemina Cheikh and Jesse P Goode	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure
210 Vista Street NE Vashington, DC 20018	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure
		6/17/2003
turpose of expenditure ettlement and release of claims		
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Michael D Murphy	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$80 00
862 S 28th Street upt C-2	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure
rlington, VA 22206	Fundraiser	1/17/2003
onus		
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Paychex, Inc	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$983 62
13 Duke of Gloucester Street nnapolis, MD 21401	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure
Purpose of expenditure		
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code aychex, inc	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$75.14
13 Duke of Gloucester Street Innapolis, MD 21401	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure
Purpose of expenditure		
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$975 62
13 Duke of Gioucester Street vnnapolis, MD 21401	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure
Purpose of expenditure Paychex, Inc.,		
ubtotal of expenditures reported on this page only	Enter here and also include this amount in the total on line	\$11,427 00

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Itemized Expenditures		Schedule B Page3 of 6
ame of organization umericans For A Republican Majority Non-Federal Ar	Employer Identification number 52-1948472	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Paychex, Inc	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$152 28
213 Duke of Gioucester Street Annapolis, MD 21401	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure
Purpose of expenditure Paychex, Inc.,	<u> </u>	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Paychex, Inc	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$870 62
213 Duke of Gloucester Street Annapolis, MD 21401	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure 2/28/2003
Purpose of expenditure		
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Paychex, Inc	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$75.14
213 Duke of Gioucester Street Annapolis, MD 21401	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure 3/10/2003
Purpose of expenditure Paychex, Inc ,		
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Paychex, Inc	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$843 62
213 Duke of Gloucester Street Annapolis, MD 21401	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure 3/31/2003
Purpose of expenditure Paychex, Inc.,		
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$75.14
213 Duke of Gloucester Street Annapolis, MD 21401	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure 4/10/2003
Purpose of expenditure Paychex, Inc.,	- <del> </del>	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,
Recipient's name, melling address and ZIP code The Hopkins Group	Name of reciplent's employer	Amount of expenditure \$200 00
13007 Smoketown Road Woodbndge, VA 22192	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure 6/13/2003
Purpose of expenditure STOMP ad		
Subtotal of expenditures reported on this page only 10 of Form 8872	Enter here and also include this amount in the total o	n line \$2,216 80

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Page 4 of 7

Itemized Expenditures		Schedule B Page4 of 6	
iame of organization Americans For A Republican Majority Non-Federal Ad	count	Employer Identification num 52-1948472	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Tony Rudy 2429 C Walter Reed Drive	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$500 32	
Arlington, VA 22206	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure 4/14/2003	
Purpose of expenditure expense reimbursement			
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Universal Orlando Resort	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$8,549 61	
PO Box 862798 Orlando, FL 32886	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure	
Purpose of expenditure Fundralsing expense	<u> </u>		
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code WMR Consulting, Inc	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$3,000 00	
10099 Statesman Court Frederick, MD 21701	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure 1/31/2003	
Purpose of expenditure Convention-fundralsing fee			
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code WMR Consulting, Inc	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$7,198 50	
10099 Statesman Court Frederick, MD 21701	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure 1/31/2003	
Purpose of expenditure Convention-fundraising fee			
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$3,000 00	
10099 Statesman Court Frederick, MD 21701	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure 2/28/2003	
Purpose of expenditure Convention-fundraising fee			
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$3,462 38	
10099 Statesman Court Frederick, MD 21701	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure 1/2/2003	
Purpase of expenditure Bonus			
Subtotal of expenditures reported on this page only 10 of Form 8872	Enter here and also include this amount in the total on li	lne \$25,710 81	

Itsmized Expenditures		Schedule B Page5 of 6
eme <b>of organization</b> mericans For A Republican Majority Non-Federal Ar	Employer identification numb 52-1948472	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code  Varren M. Robold Jr	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$3,462 38
0099 Statesman Court Frederick, MD 21701	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure
rurpose of expenditure	<u> </u>	
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code  Warren M. Robold Jr	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$3,482 38
0099 Statesman Court rederlick, MD 21701	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure
urpose of expenditure		
ecipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code /arren M Robold Jr	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$3,462 38
0099 Statesman Court rederick, MD 21701	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure 3/31/2003
urpose of expenditure onus		
tecipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$3,462 38
0099 Statesman Court rederick, MD 21701	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure 5/1/2003
urpose of expenditure		
tecipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code /einberg & Jacobs, LLP	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$9,251 31
1300 Rockville Pike ruite 1200 lockville, MD 20852	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure 4/15/2003
urpose of expenditure egal fees		
Recipient's name, mailing address and ZIP code Veinberg & Jacobs, LLP I 1300 Rockville Pike Suite 1200 Rockville, MD 20852	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$960.64
	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure
urpose of expenditure		
subtotal of expenditures reported on this page only 0 of Form 8872	Enter here and also include this amount in the total on line	\$24,061 47

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Name of organization Americans For A Republican Majority Non-Federal Account		Schedule B Page6 of 6	
		Employer identification number 52-1948472	
Recipient's name mailing address and ZIP code Williams & Jensen, P C	Name of recipient's employer	Amount of expenditure \$20,000 00	
1155 21st Street NW Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036	Recipient's occupation	Date of expenditure 4/7/2003	

Purpose of expenditure Jan-June Fees

Subtotal of expenditures reported on this page only. Enter here and also include this amount in the total on line 10 of Form 8872.

\$136,160 00

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